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THE MISCELLANEOUS WORKS, IN VERSE *and* PROSE,

Of the Right Honourable

JOSEPH ADDISON, Esq;

With some Account of the LIFE and WRITINGS of the AUTHOR.

By Mr. *TICKELL.*

VOLUME *the* THIRD.

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These Three Volumes, with the *Tatlers*, *Spectators*, *Guardians*, *Freeholder*, and *Remarks on ſeveral Parts of* Italy, complete Mr. *Addiſon*'s Works in *Twelves*.

DIALOGUES

UPON THE

USEFULNESS

OF

ANCIENT MEDALS.

Eſpecially in relation to the

Latin and Greek Poets.

——— quoniam hæc Ratio plerumque videtur
Triſtior eſſe, quibus non eſt tractata, retroque
Volgus abhorret ab hac: volui tibi ſuaviloquenti
Carmine Pierio rationem exponere noſtram,
Et quaſi muſæo dulci contingere melle,
Si tibi forte animum tali ratione tenerem.

LUCRETIUS.

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VERSES

Occaſion'd by

Mr. ADDISON's Treatiſe

OF

MEDALS.

SEE the wild waſte of all-devouring years!
How *Rome* her own ſad ſepulchre appears:
With nodding arches, broken temples ſpread!
The very tombs now vaniſh'd like their dead!
Some felt the ſilent ſtroke of mould'ring age;
Some, hoſtile fury; ſome, religious rage:
Barbarian blindneſs, Chriſtian zeal conſpire,
And Papal piety, and *Gothic* fire.
Perhaps by its own ruins ſav'd from flame,
Some bury'd marble half preſerves a Name;
That Name, the learn'd with fierce diſputes purſue,
And give to *Titus* old *Veſpaſian*'s due.
Ambition ſigh'd. She found it vain to truſt
The faithleſs Column, and the crumbling buſt;

Huge Moles whose shadow stretch'd from shore
to shore
Their ruins perish'd, and their place no more!
Convinc'd, she now contracts her vast design;
And all her triumphs shrink into a Coin.
A narrow orb each crowded conquest keeps:
Beneath her Palm here sad *Judea* weeps,
Now scantier limits the proud Arch confine,
And scarce are seen the prostrate *Nile* and *Rhine*:
A small *Euphrates* thro' the piece is roll'd;
And little Eagles wave their wings in Gold.

The Medal, faithful to its charge of fame,
Thro' climes and ages bears each form and name:
In one short view, subjected to our eye,
Gods, Emp'rors, Heroes, Sages, Beauties lie.
With sharpen'd sight pale Antiquaries pore,
Th' Inscription value, but the Rust adore:
This, the Blue varnish, that, the Green endears,
The sacred Rust of twice ten hundred years.
To gain *Pescennius* one employs his schemes;
One grasps a *Cecrops* in ecstatic dreams:
Poor *Vadius*, long with learned spleen devour'd,
Can taste no pleasure since his Shield was scour'd;
And *Curio*, restless by the fair one's side,
Sighs for an *Otho*, and neglects his Bride.

Theirs is the Vanity, the Learning thine,
Touch'd by thy hand, again *Rome*'s glories shine:
Her Gods, and godlike Heroes rise to view,
And all her faded Garlands bloom anew.
Nor blush, those studies thy regard engage:
These pleas'd the Fathers of poetic rage;
The Verse and Sculpture bore an equal part,
And Art reflected images to Art.

Oh when shall *Britain*, conscious of her claim,
Stand emulous of *Greek* and *Roman* fame?

In

In living Medals see her wars enroll'd,
And vanquish'd realms supply recording Gold?
Here, rising bold, the Patriot's honest face;
There, Warriors frowning in historic brass.
Then future ages with delight shall see,
How *Plato*'s, *Bacon*'s, *Newton*'s looks agree:
Or in fair Series laurel'd Bards be shown,
A *Virgil* there, and here an *Addison*.
Then shall Thy *Craggs* (and let me call him Mine)
On the cast Ore, another *Pollio*, shine;
With aspect open shall erect his head,
And round the Orb in lasting notes be read:
" Statesman, yet friend to Truth! in soul sincere,
" In action faithful, and in honour clear;
" Who broke no promise, serv'd no private end,
" Who gain'd no title, and who lost no friend,
" Ennobled by Himself, by all approv'd,
" And prais'd, unenvy'd, by the Muse he lov'd.

A. Pope.

DIALOGUES

Upon the Uſefulneſs of

ANCIENT MEDALS.

DIALOGUE I.

CYNTHIO, *Eugenius* and *Philander* had retired together from the town to a country village, that lies upon the *Thames*. Their deſign was to paſs away the heats of the Summer among the freſh breezes, that riſe from the river, and the agreeable Mixture of ſhades and fountains, in which the whole country naturally abounds. They were all three very well verſed in the politer parts of learning, and had travelled into the moſt refined nations of *Europe:* ſo that they were capable of entertaining themſelves on a thouſand different ſubjects without

running into the common topics of defaming public parties, or particular perſons. As they were intimate friends they took the freedom to diſſent from one another in diſcourſe, or upon occaſion to ſpeak a *Latin* ſentence without fearing the imputation of pedantry or ill-breeding.

They were one evening taking a walk together in the fields when their diſcourſe accidentally fell upon ſeveral unprofitable parts of learning. It was *Cynthio*'s humour to run down every thing that was rather for oſtentation than uſe. He was ſtill preferring good ſenſe to arts and ſciences, and often took a pleaſure to appear ignorant, that he might the better turn to ridicule thoſe that valued themſelves on their books and ſtudies, though at the ſame time one might very well ſee that he could not have attacked many parts of learning ſo ſucceſsfully, had not he borrowed his Aſſiſtances from them. After having rally'd a ſet or two of *Virtuoſos*, he fell upon the Medalliſts.

Theſe gentlemen, ſays he, value themſelves upon being critics in Ruſt, and will undertake to tell you the different ages of it, by its colour. They are poſſeſſed with a kind of learned avarice, and are for getting together hoards of ſuch money only as was current among the *Greeks* and *Latins*. There are ſeveral of them that are better acquainted with the faces of the *Antonines*, than of the *Stuarts*, and would rather chooſe to count out a Sum in Seſterces, than in pounds ſterling. I have heard of one in *Italy* that uſed to ſwear *by the head of Otho*. Nothing can be pleaſanter than to ſee a circle of theſe *Virtuoſos* about a cabinet of Medals, deſcanting upon the value, rarity and authen-

authenticalneſs of the ſeveral pieces that lie before them. One takes up a coin of Gold, and after having well weighed the figures and inſcription, tells you very gravely if it were braſs, it would be invaluable. Another falls a ringing a *Peſcennius Niger*, and judiciouſly diſtinguiſhes the ſound of it to be modern. A third deſires you to obſerve well the *Toga* on ſuch a reverſe, and aſks you whether you can in conſcience believe the ſleeve of it to be of the true *Roman* cut.

I muſt confeſs, ſays *Philander*, the knowledge of Medals has moſt of thoſe diſadvantages that can render a ſcience ridiculous, to ſuch as are not well verſed in it. Nothing is more eaſy than to repreſent as impertinences any parts of learning that have no immediate relation to the happineſs or convenience of mankind. When a man ſpends his whole life among the Stars and Planets, or lays out a twelvemonth on the ſpots in the Sun, however noble his ſpeculations may be, they are very apt to fall into burleſque. But it is ſtill more natural to laugh at ſuch ſtudies as are employed on low and vulgar objects. What curious obſervations have been made on Spiders, Lobſters, and Cockle-ſhells? yet the very naming of them is almoſt ſufficient to turn them into rallery. It is no wonder therefore that the ſcience of Medals, which is charged with ſo many unconcerning parts of knowledge, and built on ſuch mean materials, ſhould appear ridiculous to thoſe that have not taken the pains to examine it.

Eugenius was very attentive to what *Philander* ſaid on the ſubject of Medals. He was one that endeavoured rather to be agreeable than ſhining in converſation, for which reaſon he was more

beloved, though not ſo much admired as *Cynthio*. I muſt confeſs, ſays he, I find myſelf very much inclined to ſpeak againſt a ſort of ſtudy that I know nothing of. I have however one ſtrong prejudice in favour of it, that *Philander* has thought it worth his while to employ ſome time upon it. I am glad then, ſays *Cynthio*, that I have thrown him on a ſcience of which I have long wiſhed to hear the Uſefulneſs. There, ſays *Philander*, you muſt excuſe me. At preſent you do not know but it may have its uſefulneſs. But ſhould I endeavour to convince you of it, I might fail in my Attempt, and ſo render my ſcience ſtill more contemptible. On the contrary, ſays *Cynthio*, we are already ſo perſuaded of the unprofitableneſs of your ſcience, that you can but leave us where you find us, but if you ſucceed you increaſe the number of your party. Well, ſays *Philander*, in hopes of making two ſuch conſiderable proſelytes, I am very well content to talk away an Evening with you on the ſubject; but on this condition, that you will communicate your thoughts to me freely when you diſſent from me, or have any difficulties that you think me capable of removing. To make uſe of the liberty you give us, ſays *Eugenius*, I muſt tell you what I believe ſurpriſes all beginners as well as myſelf. We are apt to think your Medalliſts a little fantaſtical in the different prices they ſet upon their Coins, without any regard to the ancient value or the metal of which they are compoſed. A ſilver Medal, for example, ſhall be more eſteemed than a golden one, and a piece of braſs than either. To anſwer you, ſays *Philander*, in the language of a Medalliſt, you are not

not to look upon a cabinet of Medals as a treasure of money, but of knowledge, nor must you fancy any charms in gold, but in the figures and inscriptions that adorn it. The intrinsic value of an old coin does not consist in its metal but its erudition. It is the Device that has raised the species, so that at present an *As* or an *Obolus* may carry a higher price than a *Denarius* or a *Drachma*; and a piece of money that was not worth a penny fifteen hundred years ago, may be now rated at fifty crowns, or perhaps a hundred guineas. I find, says *Cynthio*, that to have a relish for ancient coins it is necessary to have a contempt of the modern. But I am afraid you will never be able, with all your Medallic eloquence, to persuade *Eugenius* and myself that it is better to have a pocket full of *Otho*'s and *Gordians* than of *Jacobus*'s or *Louis-d'ors*. This however we shall be Judges of, when you have let us know the several uses of old coins.

The first and most obvious one, says *Philander*, is the shewing us the Faces of all the great persons of antiquity. A cabinet of Medals is a collection of pictures in miniature. *Juvenal* calls them very humurously,

Concisum argentum in titulos, facieſque minutas.
Sat. 5.

You here see the *Alexanders*, *Cæsars*, *Pompeys*, *Trajans*, and the whole catalogue of Heroes, who have many of them so distinguished themselves from the rest of mankind that we almost look upon them as another species. It is an agreeable amusement to compare in our own thoughts

thoughts the face of a great Man with the character that authors have given us of him, and to try if we can find out in his looks and features either the haughty, cruel, or merciful temper that diſcovers itſelf in the hiſtory of his actions. We find too on Medals the repreſentations of Ladies that have given occaſion to whole volumes on the account only of a face. We have here the pleaſure to examine their looks and dreſſes, and to ſurvey at leiſure thoſe beauties that have ſometimes been the happineſs or miſery of whole kingdoms: Nor do you only meet the faces of ſuch as are famous in hiſtory, but of ſeveral whoſe names are not to be found any where except on Medals. Some of the Emperors, for example, have had Wives, and ſome of them Children, that no authors have mentioned. We are therefore obliged to the ſtudy of coins for having made new diſcoveries to the learned, and given them information of ſuch perſons as are to be met with on no other kind of records. You muſt give me leave, ſays *Cynthio*, to reject this laſt uſe of Medals. I do not think it worth while to trouble myſelf with a perſon's name or face that receives all his reputation from the mint, and would never have been known in the world had there not been ſuch things as Medals. A man's memory finds ſufficient employment on ſuch as have really ſignalized themſelves by their great actions, without charging itſelf with the names of an inſignificant people whoſe whole hiſtory is written on the edges of an old coin.

If you are only for ſuch perſons as have made a noiſe in the world, ſays *Philander*, you have on Medals a long liſt of heathen Deities, diſtinguiſhed

guiſhed from each other by their proper titles and ornaments. You ſee the copies of ſeveral ſtatues that have had the politeſt nations of the world fall down before them. You have here too ſeveral perſons of a more thin and ſhadowy nature, as Hope, Conſtancy, Fidelity, Abundance, Honour, Virtue, Eternity, Juſtice, Moderation, Happineſs, and in ſhort a whole creation of the like imaginary ſubſtances. To theſe you may add the Genies of nations, provinces, cities, highways, and the like Allegorical Beings. In devices of this nature one ſees a pretty poetical invention, and may often find as much thought on the reverſe of a Medal as in a Canto of *Spenſer*. Not to interrupt you, ſays *Eugenius*, I fancy it is this uſe of Medals that has recommended them to ſeveral hiſtory-painters, who perhaps without this aſſiſtance would have found it very difficult to have invented ſuch an airy ſpecies of beings, when they are obliged to put a moral virtue into colours, or to find out a proper dreſs for a paſſion. It is doubtleſs for this reaſon, ſays *Philander*, that Painters have not a little contributed to bring the ſtudy of Medals in vogue. For not to mention ſeveral others, *Caraccio* is ſaid to have aſſiſted *Aretine* by deſigns that he took from the *Spintriæ* of *Tiberius*. *Raphael* had thoroughly ſtudied the figures on old Coins. *Patin* tells us that *Le Brun* had done the ſame. And it is well known that *Rubens* had a noble collection of Medals in his own poſſeſſion. But I muſt not quit this head before I tell you, that you ſee on Medals not only the names and perſons of Emperors, Kings, Conſuls, Pro-conſuls, Prætors, and the like characters of importance, but of ſome of the Poets, and

and of ſeveral who had won the prizes at the Olympic games. It was a noble time, ſays *Cynthio*, when Trips and *Corniſh* hugs could make a Man immortal. How many Heroes would *Moorfields* have furniſhed out in the days of old? A fellow that can now only win a hat or a belt, had he lived among the *Greeks*, might have had his face ſtampt upon their Coins. But theſe were the wiſe ancients, who had more eſteem for a *Milo* than a *Homer*, and heapt up greater Honours on *Pindar*'s Jockies, than on the Poet himſelf. But by this time I ſuppoſe you have drawn up all your medallic people, and indeed they make a much more formidable body than I could have imagined. You have ſhewn us all conditions, ſexes and ages, emperors and empreſſes, men and children, gods and wreſtlers. Nay you have conjured up perſons that exiſt no where elſe but on old Coins, and have made our Paſſions and Virtues and Vices viſible. I could never have thought that a cabinet of Medals had been ſo well peopled. But in the next place, ſays *Philander*, as we ſee on Coins the different Faces of perſons, we ſee on them too their different Habits and Dreſſes, according to the mode that prevailed in the ſeveral ages when the Medals were ſtampt. This is another uſe, ſays *Cynthio*, that in my opinion contributes rather to make a man learned than wiſe, and is neither capable of pleaſing the underſtanding or imagination. I know there are ſeveral ſupercilious Critics that will treat an author with the greateſt contempt imaginable, if he fancies the old *Romans* wore a girdle, and are amazed at a man's ignorance, who belives the *Toga* had any Sleeves to it till the

the declenſion of the *Roman* Empire. Now I would fain know the great importance of this kind of learning, and why it ſhould not be as noble a taſk to write upon a Bib and hanging ſleeves, as on the *Bulla* and *Prætexta*. The reaſon is, that we are familiar with the names of the one, and meet with the other no where but in learned authors. An Antiquary will ſcorn to mention a pinner or a night-rail, a petticoat or a manteau; but will talk as gravely as a father of the church on the *Vitta* and *Peplus*, the *Stola* and *Inſtita*. How would an old *Roman* laugh, were it poſſible for him to ſee the ſolemn diſſertations that have been made on theſe weighty ſubjects! To ſet them in their natural light, let us fancy, if you pleaſe, that about a thouſand years hence, ſome profound author ſhall write a learned treatiſe on the Habits of the preſent age, diſtinguiſhed into the following Titles and Chapters.

Of the old *Britiſh* Trowſer.

Of the Ruſt and Collar-band.

The opinion of ſeveral learned men concerning the uſe of the Shoulder-knot.

Such a one miſtaken in his account of the Surtout, &c.

I muſt confeſs, ſays *Eugenius*, interrupting him, the knowledge of theſe affairs is in itſelf very little improving, but as it is impoſſible without it to underſtand ſeveral parts of your ancient authors, it certainly hath its uſe. It is pity indeed there is not a nearer way of coming at it. I have ſometimes fancied it would not be an impertinent deſign to make a kind of an old *Roman* wardrobe, where you ſhould ſee *Toga's*, and *Tunica's*, the *Chlamys* and *Trabea*, and in ſhort all the different

different veſts and ornaments that are ſo often mentioned in the *Greek* and *Roman* authors. By this means a man would comprehend better and remember much longer the ſhape of an ancient garment, than he poſſibly can from the help of tedious quotations and deſcriptions. The deſign, ſays *Philander*, might be very uſeful, but after what models would you work? *Sigonius*, for example, will tell you that the *Veſtis Trabeata* was of ſuch a particular faſhion, *Scaliger* is for another, and *Dacier* thinks them both in the wrong. Theſe are, ſays *Cynthio*, I ſuppoſe the names of three *Roman* taylors: for is it poſſible men of learning can have any diſputes of this nature? May not we as well believe that hereafter the whole learned world will be divided upon the make of a modern pair of breeches; And yet, ſays *Eugenius*, the Critics have fallen as foul upon each other for matters of the ſame moment. But as to this point, where the make of the garment is controverted, let them, if they can find cloth enough, work after all the moſt probable faſhions. To enlarge the deſign, I would have another room for the old *Roman* inſtruments of war, where you might ſee the *Pilum* and the ſhield, the eagles, enſigns, helmets, battering rams and trophies, in a word, all the ancient military furniture in the ſame manner as it might have been in an Arſenal of old *Rome*. A third apartment ſhould be a kind of Sacriſty for altars, idols, ſacrificing inſtruments, and other religious utenſils. Not to be tedious, one might make a magazine for all ſorts of antiquities, that would ſhow a man in an afternoon more than he could learn out of books in a twelvemonth. This would

cut

cut ſhort the whole ſtudy of antiquities, and perhaps be much more uſeful to Univerſities than thoſe collections of Whale-bone and Crocodile-ſkins in which they commonly abound. You will find it very difficult, ſays *Cynthio*, to perſuade thoſe ſocieties of learned men to fall in with your project. They will tell you that things of this importance muſt not be taken on truſt; you ought to learn them among the Claſſic Authors and at the fountain-head. Pray conſider what a figure a man would make in the republic of letters, ſhould he appeal to your Univerſity-wardrobe, when they expect a ſentence out of the *Re Veſtiaria?* or how do you think a man that has read *Vegetius* will reliſh your *Roman* Arſenal? In the mean time, ſays *Philander*, you find on Medals every thing that you could meet with in your magazine of antiquities, and when you have built your arſenals, wardrobes, and ſacriſties, it is from Medals that you muſt fetch their furniture. It is here too that you ſee the figures of ſeveral Inſtruments of muſic, mathematics and mechanics. One might make an entire galley out of the plans that are to be met with on the reverſes of ſeveral old coins. Nor are they only charged with Things but with many ancient cuſtoms, as ſacrifices, triumphs, congiaries, allocutions, decurſions, lectiſterniums, and a thouſand other antiquated names and ceremonies that we ſhould not have had ſo juſt a notion of, were they not ſtill preſerved on Coins. I might add under this head of antiquities, that we find on Medals the manner of ſpelling in the old *Roman* inſcriptions. That is, ſays *Cynthio*, we find that *Felix* is never written with an *æ* dipthongue, and that in *Auguſtus's*

guſtus's days *Civis* ſtood for *Cives*, with other ſecrets in Orthography of the ſame importance.

To come then to a more weighty uſe, ſays *Philander*, it is certain that Medals give a very great light to hiſtory, in confirming ſuch paſſages as are true in old Authors, in ſettling ſuch as are told after different manners, and in recording ſuch as have been omitted. In this caſe a cabinet of Medals is a body of hiſtory. It was indeed the beſt way in the world to perpetuate the memory of great actions, thus to coin out the life of an Emperor, and to put every great exploit into the mint. It was a kind of Printing, before the art was invented. It is by this means that Monſieur *Vaillant* has diſembroiled a hiſtory that was loſt to the world before his time, and out of a ſhort collection of Medals has given us a chronicle of the Kings of *Syria*. For this too is an advantage Medals have over books, that they tell their ſtory much quicker, and ſum up a whole volume in twenty or thirty reverſes. They are indeed the beſt epitomes in the world, and let you ſee with one caſt of an eye the ſubſtance of above a hundred pages. Another uſe of Medals is, that they not only ſhew you the actions of an Emperor, but at the ſame time mark out the year in which they were performed. Every exploit has its date ſet to it. A ſeries of an Emperor's Coins is his life digeſted into annals. Hiſtorians ſeldom break their relation with a mixture of chronology, nor diſtribute the particulars of an Emperor's ſtory into the ſeveral years of his reign: or where they do it they often differ in their ſeveral periods. Here therefore it is much

ſafer

safer to quote a Medal than an Author, for in this case you do not appeal to a *Suetonius* or a *Lampridius*, but to the Emperor himself, or to the whole Body of a *Roman* Senate. Besides that a Coin is in no danger of having its characters altered by copiers and transcribers. This I must confess, says *Cynthio*, may in some cases be of great moment, but considering the subjects on which your chronologers are generally employed, I see but little use that rises from it. For example, what signifies it to the world whether such an Elephant appeared in the Amphi-theatre in the second or the third year of *Domitian?* Or what am I the wiser for knowing that *Trajan* was in the fifth year of his Tribuneship when he entertained the people with such a Horse-race or Bull-baiting? Yet it is the fixing of these great periods that gives a man the first rank in the republic of letters, and recommends him to the world for a person of various reading and profound erudition.

You must always give your men of great reading leave to shew their talents on the meanest subjects, says *Eugenius*; it is a kind of shooting at rovers: where a man lets fly his arrow without taking any aim, to shew his strength. But there is one advantage, says he, turning to *Philander*, that seems to me very considerable, although your Medallists seldom throw it into the account, which is the great help to memory one finds in Medals: for my own part I am very much embarrassed in the names and ranks of the several *Roman* Emperors, and find it difficult to recollect upon occasion the different parts of their history: but your Medallists upon the first naming of an Empe-

Emperor will immediately tell you his age, family and life. To remember where he enters in the ſucceſſion, they only conſider in what part of the cabinet he lies; and by running over in their thoughts ſuch a particular drawer, will give you an account of all the remarkable parts of his reign.

I thank you, ſays *Philander*, for helping me to an uſe that perhaps I ſhould not have thought on. But there is another of which I am ſure you could not but be ſenſible when you were at *Rome*. I muſt own to you it ſurpriſed me to ſee my *Ciceroni* ſo well acquainted with the buſts and ſtatues of all the great people of antiquity. There was not an Emperor or Empreſs but he knew by ſight, and as he was ſeldom without Medals in his pocket, he would often ſhew us the ſame face on an old Coin that we ſaw in the Statue. He would diſcover a *Commodus* through the diſguiſe of the club and lion's ſkin, and find out ſuch a one to be *Livia* that was dreſſed up like a *Ceres*. Let a buſt be never ſo diſfigured, they have a thouſand marks by which to decipher it. They will know a *Zenobia* by the ſitting of her Diadem, and will diſtinguiſh the *Fauſtina's* by their different way of tying up their hair. Oh! Sir, ſays *Cynthio*, they will go a great deal farther, they will give you the name and titles of a Statue that has loſt his noſe and ears; or if there is but half a beard remaining, will tell you at firſt ſight who was the owner of it. Now I muſt confeſs to you, I uſed to fancy they impoſed upon me an Emperor or Empreſs at pleaſure, rather than appear ignorant.

All this however is eaſily learnt from Medals, ſays *Philander*, where you may ſee likewiſe the plans of many the moſt conſiderable buildings of

Old

Old *Rome*. There is an ingenious Gentleman of our own nation extremely well verſed in this ſtudy, who has a deſign of publiſhing the whole hiſtory of Architecture, with its ſeveral improvements and decays as it is to be met with on ancient Coins. He has aſſured me that he has obſerved all the nicety of proportion in the figures of the different orders that compoſe the buildings on the beſt preſerved Medals. You here ſee the copies of ſuch Ports and triumphal Arches as there are not the leaſt traces of in the places where they once ſtood. You have here the models of ſeveral ancient Temples, though the Temples themſelves, and the Gods that were worſhipped in them, are periſhed many hundred years ago. Or if there are ſtill any foundations or ruins of former edifices, you may learn from Coins what was their Architecture when they ſtood whole and entire. Theſe are buildings which the *Goths* and *Vandals* could not demoliſh, that are infinitely more durable than ſtone or marble, and will perhaps laſt as long as the earth itſelf. They are in ſhort ſo many real monuments of Braſs.

Quod non imber edax non aquilo impotens
Poſſit diruere, aut innumerabilis
Annorum ſeries, & fuga temporum.

Which eating ſhow'rs, nor northwind's feeble blaſt,
Nor whirle of time, nor flight of years can waſte. Mr. *Creech.*

This is a noble Panegyric on an old copper Coin, ſays *Cynthio*. But I am afraid a little malicious ruſt would demoliſh one of your brazen edifices

edifices as effectually as a *Goth* or *Vandal*. You would laugh at me, ſays *Philander*, ſhould I make you a learned diſſertation on the nature of Ruſts: I ſhall only tell you there are two or three ſorts of them which are extremely beautiful in the eye of an Antiquary, and preſerve a Coin better than the beſt artificial varniſh. As for other kinds, a ſkilful Medalliſt knows very well how to deal with them. He will recover you a Temple or a triumphal Arch out of its rubbiſh, if I may ſo call it, and with a few reparations of the graving tool reſtore it to its firſt ſplendour and magnificence. I have known an Emperor quite hid under a cruſt of droſs, who after two or three days cleanſing has appeared with all his titles about him as freſh and beautiful as at his firſt coming out of the Mint. I am ſorry, ſays *Eugenius*, I did not know this laſt uſe of Medals when I was at *Rome*. It might perhaps have given me a greater taſte of its Antiquities, and have fixed in my memory ſeveral of the ruins that I have now forgotten. For my part, ſays *Cynthio*, I think there are at *Rome* enow modern works of Architecture to employ any reaſonable man. I never could have a taſte for old bricks and rubbiſh, nor would trouble myſelf about the ruins of *Auguſtus*'s Palace ſo long as I could ſee the *Vatican*, the *Borgheſe*, and the *Farneſe* as they now ſtand; I muſt own to you at the ſame time this is talking like an ignorant man. Were I in other company I would perhaps change my ſtile, and tell them that I would rather ſee the fragments of *Apollo*'s temple than St. *Peter*'s. I remember when our Antiquary at *Rome* had led us a whole day

day together from one ruin to another, he at last brought us to the *Rotunda:* And this, says he, is the most valuable Antiquity in *Italy*, notwithstanding it is so entire.

The same kind of fancy, says *Philander*, has formerly gained upon several of your Medallists, who were for hoarding up such pieces of money only as had been half consumed by time or rust. There were no Coins pleased them more than those which had passed through the hands of an old *Roman* Clipper. I have read an Author of this taste that compares a ragged Coin to a tattered Colours. But to come again to our Subject. As we find on Medals the plans of several buildings that are now demolished, we see on them too the Models of many ancient Statues that are now lost. There are several Reverses which are owned to be the representations of antique figures, and I question not but there are many others that were formed on the like Models, though at present they lie under no suspicion of it. The *Hercules Farnese*, the *Venus* of *Medicis*, the *Apollo* in the *Belvidera*, and the famous *Marcus Aurelius* on horse-back, which are perhaps the four most beautiful Statues extant, make their appearance all of them on ancient Medals, though the figures that represent them were never thought to be the copies of statues till the statues themselves were discovered. There is no question, I think, but the same reflexion may extend itself to antique Pictures: for I doubt not but in the designs of several *Greek* Medals in particular, one might often see the hand of an *Apelles* or *Protogenes*, were we as well acquainted with their works as we are with *Titian*'s or *Vandike*'s. I might here make a much

greater ſhow of the Uſefulneſs of Medals, if I would take the Method of others, and prove to you that all arts and ſciences receive a conſiderable illuſtration from this ſtudy. I muſt however tell you, that Medals and the Civil Law, as we are aſſured by thoſe who are well read in both, give a conſiderable Light to each other, and that ſeveral old Coins are like ſo many maps for explaining of the ancient Geography. But beſides the more ſolid parts of learning, there are ſeveral little intimations to be met with on Medals that are very pleaſant to ſuch as are converſant in this kind of ſtudy. Should I tell you gravely, that without the help of Coins we ſhould never have known which was the firſt of the Emperors that wore a beard, or rode in ſtirrups, I might turn my ſcience into ridicule. Yet it is certain there are a thouſand little impertinencies of this nature that are very gratifying to curioſity, tho' perhaps not very improving to the underſtanding. To ſee the dreſs that ſuch an Empreſs delighted to be drawn in, the titles that were moſt agreeable to ſuch an Emperor, the flatteries that he lay moſt open to, the honours that he paid to his children, wives, predeceſſors, friends or collegues, with the like particularities only to be met with on Medals, are certainly not a little pleaſing to that inquiſitive temper which is ſo natural to the mind of man.

I declare to you, ſays *Cynthio*, you have aſtoniſhed me with the ſeveral parts of knowledge, that you have diſcovered on Medals. I could never fancy before this evening, that a Coin could have any nobler uſe in it than to pay a reckoning.

You

You have not heard all yet, says *Philander*, there is still an advantage to be drawn from Medals, which I am sure will heighten your esteem for them. It is indeed an use that no body has hitherto dwelt upon. If any of the Antiquaries have touched upon it, they have immediately quitted it, without considering it in its full latitude, light, and extent. Not to keep you in suspense, I think there is a great affinity between Coins and Poetry, and that your Medallist and Critic are much nearer related than the world generally imagines. A reverse often clears up the passage of an old poet, as the poet often serves to unriddle a reverse. I could be longer on this head, but I fear I have already tired you. Nay, says *Eugenius*, since you have gone so far with us, we must beg you to finish your lecture, especially since you are on a subject, that I dare promise you will be very agreeable to *Cynthio*, who is so professed an admirer of the ancient poets. I must only warn you, that you do not charge your Coins with more uses than they can bear. It is generally the method of such as are in love with any particular science to discover all others in it. Who would imagine, for example, that architecture should comprehend the knowledge of history, ethics, music, astronomy, natural philosophy, physic, and the civil law? Yet *Vitruvius* will give you his reasons, such as they are, why a good architect is master of these several arts and sciences. Sure, says *Cynthio*, *Martial* had never read *Vitruvius* when he threw the Crier and the Architect into the same class.

Duri si puer ingeni videtur
Præconem facias vel architectum.

If of dull parts the ſtripling you ſuſpect,
A herald make him, or an architect.

But to give you an inſtance out of a very celebrated diſcourſe on poetry, becauſe we are on that ſubject, of an author's finding out imaginary beauties in his own art. *I have obſerved*, ſays he, (ſpeaking of the natural propenſion that all men have to numbers and harmony) *that my barber has often combed my head in Dactyls and Spondees, that is with two ſhort ſtrokes and a long one, or with two long ones ſucceſſively.* Nay, ſays he, *I have known him ſometimes run even into Pyrrichius's and Anapæſtus's.* This you will think perhaps a very extravagant fancy, but I muſt own I ſhould as ſoon expect to find the *Proſodia* in a Comb as Poetry in a Medal. Before I endeavour to convince you of it, ſays *Philander*, I muſt confeſs to you that this ſcience has its viſionaries as well as all others. There are ſeveral, for example, that will find a myſtery in every tooth of *Neptune*'s trident, and are amazed at the wiſdom of the ancients that repreſented a thunder-bolt with three forks, ſince, they will tell you, nothing could have better explained its triple quality of piercing, burning and melting. I have ſeen a long diſcourſe on the figure and nature of horn, to ſhew it was impoſſible to have found out a fitter emblem for plenty than the *Cornu-copiæ*. Theſe are a ſort of authors who ſcorn to take up with appearances, and fancy an interpretation vulgar when it is natural. What could have been more proper to ſhew the beauty and friendſhip of the three Graces, than to repreſent them naked and knit together in a kind

Voſſius de viribus Rythmi.

of

of dance? It is thus they always appear in ancient ſculpture, whether on Medals or in Marble, as I doubt not but *Horace* alludes to deſigns of this nature, when he deſcribes them after the ſame manner,

——————*Gratia*,
Junctis nuda ſororibus :
——*Segneſque nodum ſolvere Gratiæ.*

The Siſter-*Graces* hand in hand
Conjoin'd by love's eternal band.

Several of your Medalliſts will be here again aſtoniſhed at the wiſdom of the ancients, that knew how to couch ſuch excellent Precepts of morality under viſible objects. The nature of Gratitude, they will tell you, is better illuſtrated by this ſingle device, than by *Seneca*'s whole book *de Beneficiis*. The three Graces teach us three things. I. To remark the doing of a courteſy. II. The return of it from the receiver. III. The obligation of the receiver to acknowledge it. The three Graces are always hand in hand, to ſhow us that theſe three duties ſhould be never ſeparated. They are naked, to admoniſh us that Gratitude ſhould be returned with a free and open heart; and dancing, to ſhew us that no virtue is more active than Gratitude. May not we here ſay with *Lucretius?*

Quæ bene & eximie quanquam diſpoſta ferantur,
Sunt longè tamen à verâ ratione repulſa.

It is an eaſy thing, ſays *Eugenius*, to find out deſigns that never entered into the thoughts of the ſculptor or the coiner. I dare ſay, the ſame Gentlemen who have fixed this piece of morality

on the three naked Siſters dancing hand in hand, would have found out as good a one for them, had there been four of them ſitting at a diſtance from each other, and covered from head to foot. It is here therefore, ſays *Philander*, that the old Poets ſtep in to the aſſiſtance of the Medalliſt, when they give us the ſame thought in words as the maſters of the *Roman* mint have done in figures. A man may ſee a metaphor or an allegory in picture, as well as read them in a deſcription. When therefore I confront a Medal with a Verſe, I only ſhew you the ſame deſign executed by different hands, and appeal from one maſter to another of the ſame age and taſte. This is certainly a much ſurer way than to build on the interpretations of an author who does not conſider how the ancients uſed to think, but will be ſtill inventing myſteries and applications out of his own fancy. To make myſelf more intelligible, I find a ſhield on the reverſe of an Emperor's Coin, deſigned as a compliment to him from the ſenate of *Rome*. I meet with the ſame metaphor in ancient poets to expreſs protection or defence. I conclude therefore that this Medal compliments the Emperor in the ſame ſenſe as the old *Romans* did their Dictator *Fabius* when they called him the Buckler of *Rome*. Put this reverſe now if you pleaſe into the hands of a myſtical antiquary: He ſhall tell you that the uſe of the ſhield being to defend the body from the weapons of an enemy, it very aptly ſhadows out to us the reſolution or continence of the Emperor, which made him proof to all the attacks of fortune or of pleaſure. In the next place, the figure of the ſhield being round it is an emblem of perfection, for *Ariſtotle* has

has ſaid the round figure is the moſt perfect. It may likewiſe ſignify the immortal reputation that the Emperor has acquired by his great actions, rotundity being an emblem of eternity that has neither beginning nor end. After this I dare not anſwer for the ſhield's convexity that it does not cover a myſtery, nay there ſhall not be the leaſt wrinkle or flouriſh upon it which will not turn to ſome account. In this caſe therefore *Poetry being in ſome reſpects an art of deſigning as well as Painting or Sculpture, they may ſerve as Comments on each other. I am very well ſatisfied, ſays *Eugenius*, by what you have ſaid on this ſubject, that the Poets may contribute to the explication of ſuch reverſes as are purely emblematical, or when the perſons are of that ſhadowy allegorical nature you have before mentioned, but I ſuppoſe there are many other reverſes that repreſent things and perſons of a more real exiſtence. In this caſe too, ſays *Philander*, a Poet lets you into the knowledge of a device better than a Proſe-writer, as his deſcriptions are often more diffuſe, his ſtory more naturally circumſtanced, and his language enriched with a greater variety of epithets: So that you often meet with little hints and ſuggeſtions in a Poet that give a great illuſtration to the cuſtoms, actions, ornaments, and all kinds of Antiquities that are to be met with on ancient Coins. I fancy, ſays *Cynthio*, there is nothing more ridiculous than an Antiquary's reading the *Greek* or *Latin* Poets. He never thinks of the beauty of the thought or language, but is for

* *Poema eſt pictura loquax.*

ſearching into what he calls the Erudition of the Author. He will turn you over all *Virgil* to find out the figure of an old *Roſtrum*, and has the greateſt eſteem imaginable for *Homer*, becauſe he has given us the faſhion of a *Greek* ſcepter. It is indeed odd enough to conſider how all kinds of Readers find their account in the old Poets. Not only your men of the more refined or ſolid parts of Learning, but even your Alchymiſt and Fortuneteller will diſcover the ſecrets of their art in *Homer* and *Virgil*. This, ſays *Eugenius*, is a prejudice of a very ancient ſtanding. Read but *Plutarch*'s Diſcourſe on *Homer*, and you will ſee that the Iliad contains the whole circle of arts, and that *Thales* and *Pythagoras* ſtole all their philoſophy out of this Poet's works. One would be amazed to ſee what pains he takes to prove that *Homer* underſtood all the figures in Rhetoric, before they were invented. I do not queſtion, ſays *Philander*, were it poſſible for *Homer* to read his phraſes in this Author, but he would be as much ſurpriſed as ever Monſieur *Jordain* was when he had found he had talked Proſe all his life-time without ever knowing what it was. But to finiſh the taſk you have ſet me, we may obſerve that not only the virtues, and the like imaginary perſons, but all the heathen Divinities appear generally in the ſame Dreſs among the Poets that they wear in Medals. I muſt confeſs, I believe both the one and the other took the Mode from the ancient *Greek* Statuaries. It will not perhaps be an improper tranſition to paſs from the heathen gods to the ſeveral monſters of antiquity, as *Chimæras*, *Gorgons*, *Sphinxes*, and many others that make the ſame figure in verſe as on coins. It often happens

pens too, that the Poet and the Senate of *Rome* have both chosen the same Topic to flatter their Emperor upon, and have sometimes fallen upon the same thought. It is certain, they both of them lay upon the catch for a great action: It is no wonder therefore, that they were often engaged on one subject, the Medal and the Poem being nothing else but occasional compliments to the Emperor. Nay, I question not but you may sometimes find certain passages among the Poets that relate to the particular device of a Medal.

I wonder, says *Eugenius*, that your Medallists have not been as diligent in searching the Poets as the Historians, since I find they are so capable of enlightning their art. I would have some body put the Muses under a kind of contribution to furnish out whatever they have in them that bears any relation to Coins. Though they taught us but the same things that might be learnt in other writings, they would at least teach us more agreeably, and draw several over to the study of Medals that would rather be instructed in verse than in prose. I am glad, says *Philander*, to hear you of this opinion, for to tell you truly, when I was at *Rome*, I took occasion to buy up many Imperial Medals that have any affinity with passages of the ancient Poets. So that I have by me a sort of poetical Cash, which I fancy I could count over to you in *Latin* and *Greek* verse. If you will drink a dish of Tea with me to-morrow morning, I will lay my whole collection before you. I cannot tell, says *Cynbio*, how the Poets will succeed in the explication of coins, to which they are generally very great strangers. We are however obliged to you for preventing

us with the offer of a kindneſs that you might well imagine we ſhould have aſked you.

Our three friends had been ſo intent on their diſcourſe, that they had rambled very far into the fields without taking notice of it. *Philander* firſt put them in mind, that unleſs they turned back quickly they would endanger being benighted. Their converſation ran inſenſibly into other ſubjects, but as I deſign only to report ſuch parts of it as have any relation to Medals, I ſhall leave them to return home as faſt as they pleaſe, without troubling myſelf with their talk on the way thither, or with their ceremonies at parting.

DIALOGUE II.

SOME of the fineſt treatiſes of the moſt polite *Latin* and *Greek* writers are in Dialogue, as many very valued pieces of *French*, *Italian*, and *Engliſh* appear in the ſame dreſs. I have ſometimes however been very much diſtaſted at this way of writing, by reaſon of the long Prefaces and exordiums into which it often betrays an author. There is ſo much time taken up in ceremony, that before they enter on their ſubject the Dialogue is half ended. To avoid the fault I have found in others, I ſhall not trouble myſelf nor my Reader with the firſt ſalutes of our three friends, nor with any part of their diſcourſe over the Tea-table. We will ſuppoſe the *China* diſhes taken off, and a Drawer of Medals ſupplying their room. *Philander*, who is to be the Hero in my Dialogue, takes it in his hand, and addreſſing himſelf to *Cynthio* and *Eugenius*, I will firſt of all, ſays he, ſhow you an aſſembly of the moſt virtuous Ladies that you have ever perhaps converſed with. I do not know, ſays *Cynthio*, regarding them, what their virtue may be, but methinks they are a little fantaſtical in their dreſs. You will find, ſays *Philander*, there is good ſenſe in it. They have not a ſingle ornament that they cannot give a reaſon for. I was going to aſk you, ſays *Eugenius*, in what country you find

find theſe Ladies. But I ſee they are ſome of thoſe imaginary perſons you told us of laſt night that inhabit old Coins, and appear no where elſe but on the reverſe of a Medal. Their proper country, ſays *Philander*, is the breaſt of a good man: for I think they are moſt of them the figures of Virtues. It is a great compliment methinks to the ſex, ſays *Cynthio*, that your Virtues are generally ſhown in petticoats. I can give no other reaſon for it, ſays *Philander*, but becauſe they chanced to be of the feminine gender in the learned languages. You find however ſomething bold and maſculine in the air and poſture of the firſt figure, which is that of *Virtue* herſelf, and agrees very well with the deſcription we find of her in *Silius Italicus*.

First Series. FIGURE I.

Virtutis diſpar habitus, frons hirta, nec unquam
Compoſitâ, mutata comâ, ſtans vultus, et ore
Inceſſuque viro propior, lætique pudoris,
Celſa humeris, niveæ fulgebat ſtamine pallæ.
Sil. It. L. 15.

A different form did *Virtue* wear,
Rude from her forehead fell th' unplaited hair,
With dauntleſs mien aloft ſhe rear'd her head,
And next to manly was the virgin's tread;
Her height, her ſprightly bluſh, the Goddeſs ſhow,
And robes unſullied as the falling ſnow.

Virtue and *Honour* had their Temples bordering on each other, and are ſometimes both on the ſame coin, as in the following one of *Galba*. *Silius Italicus* makes them companions in the glorious equipage that he gives his *Virtue*.

FIG. 2.

[Virtus

[Virtus loquitor.]
Mecum Honor, et Laudes, et læto gloria vultu,
Et Decus, et niveis Victoria concolor alis. Ibid.

[*Virtue ſpeaks.*]
With me the foremoſt place let *Honour* gain,
Fame, and the *Praiſes* mingling in her train;
Gay *Glory* next, and *Victory* on high,
White like myſelf, on ſnowy wings ſhall fly.

Tu cujus placido poſuere in pectore ſedem
Blandus Honos, hilariſque (tamen cum pondere) Virtus.
Stat. Silv. Lib. 2.

The head of *Honour* is crowned with a Laurel, as *Martial* has adorned his *Glory* after the ſame manner, which indeed is but another name for the ſame perſon.

Mitte coronatas Gloria mœſta comas.

I find, ſays *Cynthio*, the *Latins* mean Courage by the figure of Virtue, as well as by the word itſelf. Courage was eſteemed the greateſt perfection among them, and therefore went under the name of Virtue in general, as the modern *Italians* give the ſame name on the ſame account to the Knowledge of Curioſities. Should a *Roman* Painter at preſent draw the picture of Virtue, inſtead of the Spear and Paratonium that ſhe bears on old coins, he would give her a Buſt in one hand and a Fiddle in the other.

The next, ſays *Philander*, is a Lady of a more peaceful character, and had her Temple at *Rome*. FIG. 3.

Salutato

——*Salutato crepitat Concordia nido.*

She is often placed on the reverſe of an Imperial coin to ſhow the good underſtanding between the Emperor and the Empreſs. She has always a *Cornu-copiæ* in her hand, to denote that Plenty is the fruit of Concord. After this ſhort account of the Goddeſs, I deſire you will give me your opinion of the Deity that is deſcribed in the following verſes of *Seneca*, who would have her propitious to the marriage of *Jaſon* and *Creuſa*. He mentions her by her qualities, and not by her name.

——*Aſperi*
Martis ſanguineas quæ cohibet manus,
Quæ dat belligeris fœdera gentibus,
Et cornu retinet divite copiam. Sen. Med. Act. 1.

Who ſooths great *Mars* the warrior God,
And checks his arm diſtain'd with blood,
Who joins in leagues the jarring lands,
The horn of Plenty fills her hands.

The deſcription, ſays *Eugenius*, is a copy of the figure we have before us: and for the future, inſtead of any further note on this paſſage, I would have the reverſe you have ſhown us ſtamped on the ſide of it. The interpreters of *Seneca*, ſays *Philander*, will underſtand the precedent verſes as a deſcription of *Venus*, though in my opinion there is only the firſt of them that can aptly relate to her, which at the ſame time agrees as well with *Concord:* and that this was a Goddeſs who uſed to intereſt herſelf in marriages, we may ſee in the following deſcription.

——————*Jamdudum poſte reclinis*
Quærit Hymen thalamis intactum dicere carmen,
Quo vatem mulcere queat; dat Juno verenda
Vincula, et inſigni geminat Concordia tædâ.
Statii Epithalamion. Silv. Lib. 1.

Already leaning at the door, too long
Sweet *Hymen* waits to raiſe the nuptial Song,
Her ſacred bands majeſtic *Juno* lends,
And *Concord* with her flaming torch attends.

Peace differs as little in her Dreſs as in her Character from *Concord*. FIG. 4. You may obſerve in both theſe figures that the Veſt is gathered up before them, like an Apron, which you muſt ſuppoſe fill'd with fruits as well as the *Cornu-copiæ*. It is to this part of the Dreſs that *Tibullus* alludes.

At nobis, Pax alma, veni, ſpicamque teneto,
Perfluat et pomis candidus ante ſinus.

Kind *Peace* appear,
And in thy right-hand hold the wheaten ear,
From thy white lap th'o'erflowing fruits ſhall fall.

Prudentius has given us the ſame circumſtance in his deſcription of Avarice,

——*Avaritia gremio præcincta capaci.*
Prud. Pſychomachia.

How proper the emblems of Plenty are to Peace, may be ſeen in the ſame Poet.

Interea

Interea Pax arva colat, Pax candida primùm
Duxit araturos ſub juga curva boves;
Pax aluit vites, et ſuccos condidit uvæ,
Funderet ut nato teſta paterna merum:
Pace bidens vomerque vigent.———
Tibul. El. 10. Lib. 1.

She firſt, White *Peace*, the earth with plough-
ſhares broke,
And bent the oxen to the crooked yoke,
Firſt rear'd the vine, and hoarded firſt with care
The father's vintage for his drunken heir.

The Olive-branch in her hand is frequently touched upon in the old Poets as a token of Peace.

Pace orare manu——— Virg. Æn. 10.

Ingreditur, ramumque tenens popularis Olivæ.
Ov. Met. Lib. 7.

In his right-hand an Olive-branch he holds.

———*furorem*
Indomitum duramque viri deflectere mentem
Pacifico ſermone parant, hoſtemque propinquum
Orant Cecropiæ prælatâ fronde Minervæ.
Luc. Lib. 3.

———To move his haughty ſoul they try
Intreaties, and perſuaſion ſoft apply;
Their brows *Minerva*'s peaceful branches wear,
And thus in gentleſt terms they greet his ear.
Mr. *Rowe*.

Which

Which by the way one would think had been ſpoken rather of an *Attila*, or a *Maximin*, than *Julius Cæſar*.

You ſee *Abundance* or *Plenty* makes the ſame figure in Medals as in *Horace*. FIG. 5.

——————*tibi Copia*
Manabit ad plenum benigno
Ruris honorum opulenta cornu.
Hor. Lib. 1. Od. 17.

——Here to thee ſhall Plenty flow
And all her riches ſhow,
To raiſe the honour of the quiet plain.
Mr. *Creech.*

The Compliments on this reverſe to *Gordianus Pius* is expreſſed in the ſame manner as that of *Horace* to *Auguſtus*.

——————*Aurea fruges*
Italiam pleno diffudit Copia cornu.
Hor. Epiſt. 12. Lib. 1.

——Golden *Plenty* with a bounteous hand
Rich harveſts freely ſcatters o'er our land.
Mr. *Creech.*

But to return again to our Virtues. You have here the picture of *Fidelity*, who was worſhipped as a Goddeſs among the *Romans*. FIG. 6.

Si tu oblitus es at Dii meminerunt, meminit Fides.
Catul. ad Alphen.

I ſhould fancy, from the following verſes of *Virgil*

Virgil and *Silius Italicus*, that ſhe was repreſented under the figure of an old woman.

Cana Fides, et Veſta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus
Jura dabant——— Virg. Æn. Lib. 1.

Then baniſh'd *Faith* ſhall once again return,
And veſtal fires in hallow'd temples burn,
And *Remus* with *Quirinus* ſhall ſuſtain
The righteous laws, and fraud and force reſtrain. Mr. *Dryden*.

———*ad limina ſanctæ*
Contendit Fidei, ſecretaque pectora tentat.
Arcanis dea læta, polo tum ſorte remoto
Cœlicolûm magnas volvebat conſcia curas.
Ante Jovem generata, decus divûmque hominumque,
Quâ ſine non tellus pacem, non æquora nôrunt,
Juſtitiæ conſors——— Sil. It. Lib. 2.

He to the ſhrines of *Faith* his ſteps addreſt.
She, pleas'd with ſecrets rolling in her breaſt,
Far from the world remote, revolv'd on high
The cares of gods, and counſels of the ſky.
Ere *Jove* was born ſhe grac'd the bright abodes,
Conſort of *Juſtice*, boaſt of men and gods;
Without whoſe heavenly aid no peace below
The ſtedfaſt earth, and rolling ocean know.

FIG. 7. There is a Medal of *Heliogabalus* inſcrib'd FIDES EXERCITUS, that receives a great light from the preceding verſes. She is poſted between two military Enſigns, for the good quality that the Poet aſcribes to her of preſerving the public peace, by keeping the Army true to its Allegiance.

I fancy, says *Eugenius*, as you have discovered the Age of this imaginary Lady from the description that the Poets have made of her, you may find too the colour of the Drapery that she wore in the old *Roman* paintings, from that verse in *Horace*.

Te Spes et albo rara Fides colit
Velata panno—— Hor. Od. 35. Lib. 1.

Sure *Hope* and *Friendship* cloth'd in White,
Attend on thee.——— Mr. *Creech*.

One would think, says *Philander*, by this verse, that *Hope* and *Fidelity* had both the same kind of Dress. It is certain *Hope* might have a fair pretence to White, in allusion to those that were Candidates for an employ.

———*quem ducit hiantem*
Cretata ambitio——— Pers. Sat. 5.

And how properly the Epithet of *Rara* agrees with her, you may see in the transparency of the next figure. She is here dress'd in such a kind of Vest as the *Latins* call a *Multicium* from the fineness of its Tissue. Your *Roman* Beaus had their summer *toga* of such a light airy make. FIG. 8.

Quem tenues decuere togæ nitidique capilli.
Hor. Ep. 14. Lib. 1.

I that had lov'd———
Curl'd powder'd locks, a fine and gawdy gown.
Mr. *Creech*.

I remember, ſays *Cynthio*, *Juvenal* rallies *Creticus*, that was otherwiſe a brave rough fellow, very handſomly, on this kind of garment.

——————*ſed quid*
Non facient alii cum tu multitia ſumas,
Cretice? et hanc veſtem populo mirante perores
In Proculas et Pollineas.—— Juv. Sat. 2.
Acer et indomitus Libertatiſque magiſter,
Cretice, pelluces—————— Ibid.

————Nor, vain *Metellus*, ſhall
From *Rome*'s Tribunal thy harangues prevail
'Gainſt harlotry, while thou art clad ſo thin,
That thro' thy Cobweb-robe we ſee thy ſkin.
As thou declaim'ſt—— Mr. *Tate.*
Can'ſt thou reſtore old manners, or retrench
Rome's pride, who com'ſt tranſparent to the Bench? *Idem.*

But pray what is the meaning that this tranſparent Lady holds up her train in her left-hand? for I find your women on Medals do nothing without a meaning. Beſides, I ſuppoſe there is a moral precept at leaſt couch'd under the figure ſhe holds in her other hand. She draws back her garment, ſays *Philander*, that it may not incumber her in her march. For ſhe is always drawn in a poſture of walking, it being as natural for *Hope* to preſs forward to her proper objects, as for *Fear* to fly from them.

Ut canis in vacuo leporem cum Gallicus arvo
Vidit, et hic prædam pedibus petit, ille ſalutem:
Alter inhæſuro ſimilis, jam jamque tenere
Sperat, et extento ſtringit veſtigia roſtro;

Alter

Alter in ambiguo eſt an ſit comprenſus, et ipſis
Morſibus eripitur, tangentiaque ora relinquit:
Sic deus et virgo eſt: hic ſpe celer, illa timore.
De Apol. et Daph. Ov. Met. Lib. 1.

As when th' impatient Grayhound ſlipt from far,
Bounds o'er the glebe to catch the fearful Hare,
She in her ſpeed does all her ſafety lay:
And he with double ſpeed purſues the prey;
O'er-runs her at the ſitting turn, and licks
His chaps in vain, and blows upon the flix:
She 'ſcapes, and for the neighb'ring covert ſtrives,
And gaining ſhelter doubts if yet ſhe lives:—
Such was the god, and ſuch the flying fair,
She, urg'd by Fear, her feet did ſwiftly move,
But he more ſwiftly who was urg'd by Love.
Mr. *Dryden.*

This beautiful ſimilitude is, I think, the pretſieſt Emblem in the world of *Hope* and *Fear* in extremity. A flower or bloſſom that you ſee in the right-hand is a proper ornament for *Hope*, ſince they are theſe that we term in poetical language the Hopes of the year.

Vere novo, tunc herba nitens, et roboris expers
Turget et infelida eſt, et Spe delectat agreſtes.
Omnia tum florent, florumque coloribus almus
Ridet ager—— Ov. Met. Lib. 15.

The green ſtem grows in ſtature and in ſize,
But only feeds with Hope the Farmer's eyes;
Then laughs the childiſh year with flowrets crown'd,
And laviſhly perfumes the fields around.
Mr. *Dryden.*

The

The ſame Poet in his *De faſtis*, ſpeaking of the Vine in flower, expreſſes it,

In ſpe vitis erat—— Ov. de Faſt. Lib. 5.

FIG. 9. The next on the Liſt is a Lady of a contrary character, and therefore in a quite different poſture. As *Security* is free from all purſuits, ſhe is repreſented leaning careleſly on a pillar. *Horace* has drawn a pretty metaphor from this poſture.

Nullum me à labore reclinat otium.

No eaſe doth lay me down from pain.
Mr. *Creech.*

She reſts herſelf on a pillar, for the ſame reaſon as the Poets often compare an obſtinate reſolution or a great firmneſs of mind, to a rock that is not to be moved by all the aſſaults of winds or waves.

Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus inſtantis tyranni,
Mente quatit ſolidâ, neque Auſter
Dux inquietæ turbidus Adriæ, &c. Hor.

The man reſolv'd, and ſteady to his truſt,
Inflexible to ill, and obſtinately juſt,
May the rude rabble's inſolence deſpiſe,
Their ſenſeleſs clamours and tumultuous cries;
The tyrant's fierceneſs he beguiles,
And the ſtern brow and the harſh voice defies,
And with ſuperior greatneſs ſmiles.
Not the rough whirlwind that deforms
Adria's black gulf——*&c.* Mr. *Creech.*

I am apt to think it was on Devices of this nature that *Horace* had his Eye in his Ode to *Fortune*. It is certain he alludes to a pillar that figured out *Security*, or something very like it; and till any body finds out another that will ſtand better in its place, I think we may content ourſelves with this before us.

Te Dacus aſper, te profugi Scythæ
Urbeſque genteſque et Latium ferox,
Regumque matres barbarorum, et
Purpurei metuunt tyranni:
Injurioſo nè pede proruas
Stantem columnam; neu populus frequens
Ad arma ceſſantes, ad arma
Concitet, imperiumque frangat.
Ad Fortunam. Hor. Lib. 1. Od. 35.

To thee their vows rough *Germans* pay,
To thee the wandring *Scythians* bend,
The mighty *Rome* proclaims a friend:
And for their Tyrant ſons
The barb'rous Mothers pray
To thee, the greateſt guardian of their Thrones.

They bend, they vow, and ſtill they fear,
Leſt you ſhould kick their Column down,
And cloud the glory of their Crown;
They fear that you would raiſe
The lazy crowd to war,
And break their Empire, or confine their praiſe.
Mr. *Creech*.

I muſt however be ſo fair as to let you know that *Peace* and *Felicity* have their pillars in ſeveral Medals as well as *Security*, ſo that if you do not like one of them, you may take the other.

The

FIG. 10. The next Figure is that of *Chaſtity*, who was worſhipped as a Goddeſs, and had her Temple.

——deinde ad ſuperos Aſtræa receſſit
Hâc comite, atque duæ pariter fugere ſorores.
De pudicitia. Juv. Sat. 6.

At length uneaſy *Juſtice* upwards flew,
And both the Siſters to the Stars withdrew.
Mr. *Dryden.*

Templa pudicitiæ quid opus ſtatuiſſe puellis,
Si cuivis nuptæ quidlibet eſſe licet? Tib. Lib. 2.

Since wives whate'er they pleaſe unblam'd can be,
Why rear we uſeleſs Fanes to *Chaſtity?*

How her poſture and dreſs become her, you may ſee in the following verſes.

Ergo ſedens velat vultus, obnubit ocellos,
Iſta verecundi ſigna Pudoris erant. Alciat.

She ſits, her viſage veil'd, her eyes conceal'd,
By marks like theſe was *Chaſtity* reveal'd.

Ite procul vittæ tenues, inſigne pudoris,
Quæque tegit medios inſtita longa pedes.
Ov. de Art. Aman.

——frontem limbo velata pudicam.
Claud. de Theod. Conſ.

Hence!

Hence! ye ſmooth fillets on the forehead bound,
Whoſe bands the brows of *Chaſtity* ſurround,
And her coy Robe that lengthens to the ground.

She is repreſented in the habit of a *Roman* Matron.

Matronæ præter faciem nil cernere poſſis,
Cætera, ni Catia eſt, demiſſâ veſte tegentis.
Hor. Sat. 2. Lib. 1.

Beſides, a Matron's face is ſeen alone;
But *Kate*'s, that female bully of the town,
For all the reſt is cover'd with a gown.
Mr. *Creech.*

That, *ni Catia eſt*, ſays *Cynthio*, is a beauty unknown to moſt of our *Engliſh* Satiriſts. *Horace* knew how to ſtab with addreſs, and to give a thruſt where he was leaſt expected. *Boileau* has nicely imitated him in this, as well as his other beauties. But our *Engliſh* Libellers are for hewing a man downright, and for letting him ſee at a diſtance that he is to look for no mercy. I own to you, ſays *Eugenius*, I have often admired this piece of art in the two Satiriſts you mention, and have been ſurpriſed to meet with a man in a Satire that I never in the leaſt expected to find there. They have a particular way of hiding their ill-nature, and introduce a criminal rather to illuſtrate a precept or paſſage, than out of any ſeeming deſign to abuſe him. Our *Engliſh* Poets on the contrary ſhow a kind of malice prepenſe in their Satires, and inſtead of bringing in the perſon to give light to any part of the Poem, let you ſee they writ the whole

Poem on purpoſe to abuſe the perſon. But we muſt not leave the Ladies thus. Pray what kind of head-dreſs is that of *Piety?*

As *Chaſtity*, ſays *Philander*, appears in the habit of a *Roman* matron, in whom that Virtue was ſuppoſed to reign in its perfection, *Piety* wears the dreſs of the Veſtal Virgins, who were the greateſt and moſt ſhining examples of it. *Vittata Sacerdos* is you know an Expreſſion among the *Latin* Poets. I do not queſtion but you have ſeen in the Duke of *Florence*'s gallery a beautiful antique figure of a woman ſtanding before an Altar, which ſome of the Antiquaries call a *Piety*, and others a Veſtal Virgin. The woman, Altar, and fire burning on it, are ſeen in marble exactly as in this coin, and bring to my mind a part of a ſpeech that *Religion* makes in *Phædrus*'s fables.

FIG. 11.

Sed ne ignis noſter facinori præluceat,
Per quem verendos excolit Pietas deos.

Fab. 10. Lib. 4.

It is to this Goddeſs that *Statius* addreſſes himſelf in the following lines.

Summa deûm Pietas! cujus gratiſſima cœlo
Rara profanatas inſpectant numina terras,
Huc vittata comam, niveoque inſignis amictu,
Qualis adhuc præſens, nullâque expulſa nocentum
Fraude rudes populos atque aurea regna colebas,
Mitibus exequiis ades, et lugentis Hetruſci
Cerne pios fletus, laudataque lumina terge.

Statius Silv. Lib. 3.

Chief

Chief of the Skies, celeſtial *Piety!*
Whoſe god-head, priz'd by thoſe of heavenly birth,
Reviſits rare theſe tainted realms of Earth,
Mild in thy milk-white veſt, to ſooth my friend,
With holy fillets on thy brows deſcend,
Such as of old (ere chac'd by Guilt and Rage)
A race unpoliſh'd, and a golden age,
Beheld thee frequent. Once more come below,
Mix in the ſoft ſolemnities of woe,
See, ſee, thy own *Hetruſcus* waſtes the day
In pious grief; and wipe his tears away.

The little trunk ſhe holds in her left-hand is the *Acerra* that you ſo often find among the Poets, in which the frankincenſe was preſerv'd that *Piety* is here ſuppos'd to ſtrow on the fire.

Dantque ſacerdoti cuſtodem thuris acerram.
Ov. Met. Lib. 13.

Hæc tibi pro nato plenâ dat lætus acerrâ
Phœbe——— Mart. Lib. 4. Epig. 45.

The figure of *Equity* differs but little from that our painters make of her at preſent. The ſcales ſhe carries in her hand are ſo natural an emblem of juſtice, that *Perſius* has turned them into an allegory to expreſs the deciſions of right or wrong. FIG. 12.

———*Quirites*
Hoc puto non juſtum eſt, illud malè, rectiùs iſtud;
Scis etenim juſtum geminâ ſuſpendere lance
Ancipitis Libræ. ———
Socrat. ad Alcibiad. Sat. 4.

———*Romans*, know,
Againſt right reaſon all your counſels go;
This is not fair; nor profitable that:
Nor t'other queſtion proper for debate.
But thou, no doubt, canſt ſet the buſineſs right,
And give each argument its proper weight:
Know'ſt with an equal hand to hold the ſcale, *&c.*
Mr. *Dryden.*

FIG. 13. The next figure I preſent you with is *Eternity*. She holds in her hand a globe with a Phœnix on it. How proper a type of *Eternity* is each of theſe you may ſee in the following quotations. I am ſure you will pardon the length of the latter as it is not improper to the occaſion, and ſhows at the ſame time the great fruitfulneſs of the Poet's fancy, that could turn the ſame thought to ſo many different ways.

Hæc Æterna manet, diviſque ſimillima forma eſt,
Cui neque principium eſt uſquam, nec finis: in ipſo
Sed ſimilis toto remanet, perque omnia par eſt.
de Rotunditate Corporum. Manil. Lib. 1.

This form's eternal, and may juſtly claim
A godlike nature, all its parts the ſame;
A like, and equal to its ſelf 'tis found,
No end's and no beginning in a round:
Nought can moleſt its Being, nought control,
And this enobles, and confines the whole.
Mr. *Creech.*

Par

Par volucer ſuperis : Stellas qui vividus æquat
Durando, membriſque terit redeuntibus ævum.——
Nam pater eſt proleſque ſui, nulloque creante
Emeritos artus fœcunda morte reformat,
Et petit alternam totidem per funera vitam.——
O ſenium poſiture rogo, falſiſque ſepulchris
Natales habiture vices, qui ſæpe renaſci
Exitio, proprioque ſoles pubeſcere letho.——
O felix, hæreſque tui ! quo ſolvimur omnes,
Hoc tibi ſuppeditat vires, præbetur origo
Per cinerem, moritur te non pereunte ſenectus,
Vidiſti quodcunque fuit. Te ſecula teſte
Cuncta revolvuntur : noſti quo tempore pontus
Fuderit elatas ſcopulis ſtagnantibus undas :
Quis Phaetonteis erroribus arſerit annus.
Et clades Te nulla rapit, ſoluſque ſuperſtes
Edomitâ tellure manes : non ſtamina Parcæ
In Te dura legunt, non jus habuere nocendi.

de Phœnice. Claud.

A God-like bird ! whoſe endleſs round of years
Outlaſt the ſtars, and tires the circling ſpheres;--
Bego: by none himſelf, begetting none,
Sire of himſelf he is, and of himſelf the ſon ;
His life in fruitful death renews its date,
And kind deſtruction but prolongs his fate——
O thou, ſays he, whom harmleſs fires ſhall burn,
Thy age the flame to ſecond youth ſhall turn,
An infant's cradle is thy fun'ral urn.——
Thrice happy *Phœnix!* Heav'n's peculiar care
Has made thyſelf thyſelf's ſurviving heir.
By death thy deathleſs vigour is ſupply'd,
Which ſinks to ruin all the world beſide.
Thy age, not thee, aſſiſting *Phœbus* burns,
And vital flames light up thy fun'ral Urns.

Whate'er events have been thy eyes ſurvey,
And thou art fix'd while ages roll away.
Thou ſaw'ſt when raging ocean burſt his bed,
O'er-top'd the mountains, and the earth o'er-
ſpread;
When the raſh youth inflam'd the high abodes,
Scorch'd up the ſkies, and ſcar'd the deathleſs
Gods.
When nature ceaſes, thou ſhalt ſtill remain,
Nor ſecond Chaos bound thy endleſs reign;
Fate's tyrant laws thy happier lot ſhall brave,
Baffle deſtruction, and elude the grave.

The circle of rays that you ſee round the head of the *Phœnix* diſtinguiſh him to be the bird and offspring of the Sun.

Solis avi ſpecimen———
Una eſt quæ reparet ſeque ipſa reſeminet ales;
Aſſyrii Phœnica vocant: non fruge neque herbis,
Sed Thuris lacrymis et ſucco vivit amomi.
Hæc ubi quinque ſuæ complevit ſecula vitæ,
Ilicis in ramis, tremulæve cacumine palmæ,
Unguibus et duro ſibi nidum conſtruit ore:
Quo ſimul ac caſias, ac nardi lenis ariſtas
Quaſſaque cum fulvâ ſubſtravit cinnama myrrhâ,
Se ſuper imponit, finitque in odoribus ævum.
Inde ferunt totidem qui vivere debeat annos
Corpore de patrio parvum phœnica renaſci.
Cum dedit huic ætas vires, onerique ferendo eſt,
Ponderibus nidi ramos levat arboris altæ,
Fertque pius cunaſque ſuas, patriumque ſepulcrum,
Perque leves auras Hyperionis urbe potitus
Ante fores ſacras Hyperionis æde reponit.
Ov. Met. Lib. 15.

———Titanius ales. Claud. de Phœnice.

———From

——From himſelf the *Phœnix* only ſprings:
Self-born, begotten by the parent Flame,
In which he burn'd, another and the ſame.
Who not by corn or herbs his life ſuſtains,
But the ſweet eſſence of *Amomum* drains:
And watches the rich gums *Arabia* bears,
While yet in tender dew they drop their tears.
He (his five centuries of life fulfill'd)
His neſt on oaken boughs begins to build,
Or trembling tops of Palm, and firſt he draws
The plan with his broad bill and crooked claws,
Nature's artificers; on this the pile
Is form'd, and riſes round; then with the ſpoil
Of *Caſſia*, *Cynamon*, and ſtems of *Nard*,
(For ſoftneſs ſtrew'd beneath) his fun'ral bed is rear'd:
Fun'ral and bridal both; and all around
The borders with corruptleſs Myrrh are crown'd,
On this incumbent; 'till æthereal flame,
Firſt catches, then conſumes, the coſtly frame;
Conſumes him too, as on the pile he lies;
He liv'd on odours, and in odours dies.
An Infant-*Phœnix* from the former ſprings,
His father's heir, and from his tender wings
Shakes off his parent duſt, his method he purſues,
And the ſame leaſe of life on the ſame terms renews.
When grown to manhood he begins his reign,
And with ſtiff pinions can his flight ſuſtain,
He lightens of its load the tree that bore
His father's royal ſepulchre before,
And his own cradle: This (with pious care,
Plac'd on his back) he cuts the buxom air,
Seeks the Sun's city, and his ſacred church,
And decently lays down his burden in the porch.

Mr. *Dryden.*

Sic ubi fœcundâ reparavit morte juventam,
Et patrios idem cineres, collectaque portat
Unguibus oſſa piis, Nilique ad littora tendens
Unicus extremo Phœnix procedit ab Euro:
Conveniunt Aquilæ, cunctæque ex orbe volucres
Ut Solis mirentur avem——

Claud. de laud. Stil. L. 2.

So when his parent's pile hath ceas'd to burn,
Tow'rs the young *Phœnix* from the teeming urn:
And from the purple eaſt, with pious toil
Bears the dear relics to the diſtant *Nile*;
Himſelf a ſpecies! Then, the bird of *Jove*,
And all his plumy nation quit the grove;
The gay harmonious train delighted gaze,
Crowd the proceſſion, and reſound his praiſe.

The radiated head of the *Phœnix* gives us the meaning of a paſſage in *Auſonius*, which I was formerly ſurpriſed to meet with in the deſcription of a Bird. But at preſent I am very well ſatisfied the Poet muſt have had his eye on the figure of this Bird in ancient ſculpture and painting, as indeed it was impoſſible to take it from the life.

Ter nova Neſtoreos implevit purpura fuſos,
Et toties terno cornix vivacior ævo,
Quam novies terni glomerantem ſecula tractûs
Vincunt æripides ter terno Neſtore cervi,
Tres quorum ætates ſuperat Phœbeius oſcen,
Quem novies ſenior Gangeticus anteit ales,
Ales cinnameo radiatus tempora nido:

Auſon. Eidyll. 11.

Arcanum

Arcanum radiant oculi jubar, igneus ora
Cingit honos, rutilo cognatum vertice sidus
Attollit crista tus apex, tenebrasque serenâ
Luce secat—— - Claud. de Phœn.

His fiery eyes shoot forth a glitt'ring ray,
And round his head ten thousand glories play:
High on his crest, a Star celestial bright
Divides the darkness with its piercing light.

———Procul ignea lucet
Ales, odorati redolent cui cinnama busti.
Claud. de laud. Stil. L. 2.

If you have a mind to compare this scale of Beings with that of *Hesiod*, I shall give it you in a translation of that Poet.

Ter binos decieſque novem super exit in annos
Justa senescentum quos implet vita virorum.
Hos novies superat vivendo garrula Cornix:
Et quater egreditur cornicis sæcula cervus.
Alipidem cervum ter vincit Corvus: at illum.
Multiplicat novies Phœnix, reparabilis ales.
Quam vos perpetuo decies prævertitis ævo
Nymphæ Hamadryades: quarum longissima vita est:
Hi cohibent fines vivacia fata animantum.
Auson. Eidyll. 18.

The utmost age to man the Gods assign
Are winters three times two, and ten times nine:
Poor man nine times the prating Dawes exceed:
Three times the Dawe's the Deer's more lasting breed:
The Deer's full thrice the Raven's race outrun:
Nine times the Raven *Titan*'s feather'd son:

Beyond his age, with youth and beauty crown'd,
The *Hamadryads* ſhine ten ages round:
Their breath the longeſt is the Fates beſtow:
And ſuch the bounds to mortal lives below.

A man had need be a good Arithmetician, ſays *Cynthio*, to underſtand this Author's works. His deſcription runs on like a Multiplication Table. But methinks the Poets ought to have agreed a little better in the calculations of a Bird's life that was probably of their own creation.

We generally find a great confuſion in the traditions of the ancients, ſays *Philander*. It ſeems to me, from the next Medal, it was an opinion among them, that the *Phœnix* renew'd herſelf at the beginning of the great year, and the return of the Golden Age. This opinion I find touched upon in a couple of lines in *Claudian*.

FIG. 14.

Quicquid ab externis ales longæva colonis
Colligit, optati referens exordia ſæcli.
Claud. de rapt. Proſ. Lib. 2.

The perſon in the midſt of the circle is ſuppoſed to be *Jupiter*, by the Author that has publiſhed this Medal, but I ſhould rather take it for the figure of Time. I remember I have ſeen at *Rome* an antique Statue of Time, with a wheel or hoop of marble in his hand, as *Seneca* deſcribes him, and not with a ſerpent as he is generally repreſented.

——*properat*

———*properat curſu*
Vita citato, volucrique die
Rota præcipitis volvitur anni. Herc. fur. Act. 1.

Life poſts away,
And day from day drives on with ſwift career
The wheel that hurries on the headlong year.

As the circle of marble in his hand repreſents the common year, ſo this that encompaſſes him is a proper repreſentation of the great year, which is the whole round and comprehenſion of Time. For when this is finiſhed, the heavenly bodies are ſuppoſed to begin their courſes anew, and to meaſure over again the ſeveral periods and diviſions of years, months, days, &c. into which the great year is diſtinguiſhed.

———*conſumto, Magnus qui dicitur, anno*
Rurſus in antiquum venient vaga ſidera curſum:
Qualia diſpoſiti ſteterant ab origine mundi.
Auſon. Eidyll. 18.

When round the great Platonic year has turn'd,
In their old ranks the wandring ſtars ſhall ſtand
As when firſt marſhall'd by th' Almighty's hand.

To ſum up therefore the thoughts of this Medal. The inſcription teaches us that the whole deſign muſt refer to the Golden Age which it lively repreſents, if we ſuppoſe the circle that encompaſſes *Time*, or if you pleaſe *Jupiter*, ſignifies the finiſhing of the great year, and that the *Phœnix* figures out the beginning of a new ſeries of time. So that the compliment on this Medal to the Emperor

Adrian,

Adrian, is in all reſpects the ſame that *Virgil* makes to *Pollio*'s ſon, at whoſe birth he ſuppoſes the *annus magnus* or platonical year run out, and renewed again with the opening of the Golden Age.

Magnus ab integro ſæclorum naſcitur ordo;
Jam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna:
Et nova progenies cœlo demittitur alto.
Virg. Ec. 4.

The time is come the *Sibyls* long foretold,
And the bleſt maid reſtores the Age of Gold,
In the great wheel of *Time* before enroll'd.
Now a new progeny from Heav'n deſcends.
Ld. *Lauderdale*.

——nunc adeſt mundo dies
Supremus ille, qui premat genus impium
Cœli ruinâ; rurſus ut ſtirpem novam
Generet renaſcens melior: ut quondam tulit
Juvenis tenente regna Saturno poli.
Sen. Oct. Act. 2.

——The laſt great day is come,
When earth and all her impious ſons ſhall lie
Cruſht in the ruines of the falling ſky,
Whence freſh ſhall riſe, her new-born realms to grace,
A pious offspring and a purer race,
Such as ere-while in golden ages ſprung,
When *Saturn* govern'd, and the world was young.

You may compare the deſign of this reverſe, if you pleaſe, with one of *Conſtantine*, ſo far as the *Phœnix* is concerned in both. As for the other figure, we may have occaſion to ſpeak

ſpeak of it in another place. *Vid.* 15 figure. King of *France*'s Medalions.

The next figure ſhadows out *Eternity* to us, by the Sun in one hand and the Moon in the other, which in the language of ſacred poetry is *as long as the Sun and Moon endureth.* The heathens made choice of theſe Lights as apt ſymbols of *Eternity*, becauſe, contrary to all ſublunary Beings, though they ſeem to periſh every night, they renew themſelves every morning. FIG. 16.

Soles occidere et redire poſſunt;
Nobis cum ſemel occidit brevis lux,
Nox eſt perpetua una dormienda. Catul.

The Suns ſhall often fall and riſe:
But when the ſhort-liv'd mortal dies
A night eternal ſeals his eyes.

Horace, whether in imitation of *Catullus* or not, has applied the ſame thought to the Moon: and that too in the plural number.

Damna tamen celeres reparant cœleſtia lunæ;
Nos ubi decidimus
Quò pius Æneas, quò Tullus dives, et Ancus,
Pulvis et umbra ſumus. Hor. Od. 7. Lib. 4.

Each loſs the haſtning Moon repairs again.

But we when once our race is done,
With *Tullus* and *Anchiſes'* ſon,
(Tho' rich like one, like t'other good)
To duſt and ſhades, without a Sun,
Deſcend, and ſink in dark oblivion's flood.
Sir *W. Temple.*

In

FIG. 17. In the next figure *Eternity* ſits on a globe of the heavens adorned with ſtars. We have already ſeen how proper an emblem of *Eternity* the globe is, and may find the duration of the ſtars made uſe of by the Poets, as an expreſſion of what is never like to end.

———*Stellas qui vividus æquas*
Durando—— Claud.

———*Polus dum ſidera paſcet,*
Semper honos nomenque tuum laudeſque manebunt.
Virg. Æn. L. 1.

Lucida dum current annoſi ſidera mundi, &c.
Sen. Med.

Vid. FIG. 13. I might here tell you that *Eternity* has a covering on her head, becauſe we can never find out her beginning; that her legs are bare, becauſe we ſee only thoſe parts of her that are actually running on; that ſhe ſits on a globe and bears a ſcepter in her hand, to ſhew that ſhe is ſovereign Miſtreſs of all things: but for any of thoſe aſſertions I have no warrant from the Poets.

You muſt excuſe me, if I have been longer than ordinary on ſuch a ſubject as *Eternity*. The next you ſee is *Victory*, to whom the Medalliſts as well as Poets never fail to give a pair of wings. FIG. 18.

Adſuit

Adfuit ipſa ſuis Ales Victoria———
Claud. de 6. Conſ. Honor.

——*dubiis volitat Victoria pennis.* Ov.

——*niveis Victoria concolor alis.* Sil. It.

The palm branch and laurel were both the rewards of Conquerors, and therefore no improper ornaments for *Victory*.

——*lentæ Victoris præmia palmæ.* Ov. Met.

Et palmæ pretium Victoribus. Virg. Æn. 5.

Tu ducibus lætis aderis cum læta triumphum
Vox canet, & longas viſent capitolia pompas.
Apollo ad Laurum. Ov. Met.

Thou ſhalt the *Roman* feſtivals adorn;
Thou ſhalt returning *Cæſar*'s triumphs grace,
When pomps ſhall in a long proceſſion paſs.
Dryden.

By the way you may obſerve the lower plaits of the Drapery that ſeem to have gathered the wind into them. I have ſeen abundance of antique figures in Sculpture and Painting, with juſt the ſame turn in the lower foldings of the Veſt, when the perſon that wears it is in a poſture of tripping forward.

Obviaque adverſas vibrabant flamina Veſtes.
Ov. Met. Lib. 1.

——As

——As ſhe fled, the wind
Increaſing ſpread her flowing hair behind;
And left her legs and thighs expos'd to view.
Dryden.

——*tenues ſinuantur flamina Veſtes.* Id. Lib. 2.

It is worth while to compare this figure of *Victory* with her Statue as it is deſcribed in a very beautiful paſſage of *Prudentius.*

Non aris non farre molæ Victoria felix
Exorata venit: labor impiger, aſpera virtus,
Vis animi, excellens ardor, violentia, cura,
Hãnc tribuunt, durum tractandis robur in armis.
Quæ ſi defuerint bellantibus, aurea quamvis
Marmoreo in templo rutilas Victoria pinnas
Explicet, et multis ſurgat formata talentis;
Non aderit veſtiſque offenſa videbitur haſtis.
Quod miles propriis diffiſus viribus optas.
Irrita fœmineæ tibimet ſolatia formæ?
Nunquam pennigeram legio ferrata puellam
Vidit anhelantum regeret quæ tela verorum.
Vincendi quæris dominam? ſua dextra cuique eſt,
Et Deus omnipotens. Non pexo crine virago,
Nec nudo ſuſpenſa pede, ſtrophioque revincta,
Nec tumidas fluitante ſinu veſtita papillas.
Prudentius contra Symm. Lib. 2.

Shall *Victory* intreated lend her aid
For cakes of flower on ſmoking Altars laid?
Her help from toils and watchings hope to find,
From the ſtrong body, and undaunted mind:
If theſe be wanting on th' embattel'd plain,
Ye ſue the unpropitious maid in vain.
Though

Though in her marble temples taught to blaze
Her dazling wings the golden dame displays,
And many a talent in due weight was told
To shape her God-head in the curious mold.
Shall the rough soldier of himself despair,
And hope for female visions in the air?
When legion sheath'd in iron e'er survey'd
Their darts directed by their winged maid!
Dost thou the power that gives success demand?
'Tis He th'Almighty, and thy own right hand;
Not the smooth Nymph, whose locks in knots
are twin'd,
Who bending shows her naked foot behind,
Who girds the virgin zone beneath her breast,
And from her bosom heaves the swelling vest.

You have here another *Victory* that I fancy *Claudian* had in view when he mentions her wings, palm and trophy in the following description. It appears on a Coin of *Constantine* who lived about an age before *Claudian*, and I believe we shall find that it is not the only piece of antique sculpture that this Poet has copied out in his descriptions. FIG. 19.

———*cum totis exurgens ardua pennis*
Ipsa duci sacras Victoria panderet ædes,
Et palma viridi gaudens, et amicta trophæis.
Claud. de Laud. Stil. Lib. 3.

On all her plumage rising, when she threw
Her sacred shrines wide open to thy view,
How pleas'd for thee her emblems to display,
With palms distinguish'd, and with trophies gay.

The

FIG. 20. The laſt of our imaginary Beings is *Liberty*. In her left hand ſhe carries the wand that the *Latins* call the *Rudis* or *Vindicta*, and in her right the cap of Liberty. The Poets uſe the ſame kinds of metaphors to expreſs Liberty. I ſhall quote *Horace* for the firſt, whom *Ovid* has imitated on the ſame occaſion, and for the latter *Martial*.

———*donatum jam rude quæris*
Mecænas iterum antiquo me includere ludo.
Hor. Lib. 1. Epiſt. 1.

———*tardâ vires minuente ſenectâ*
Me quoque donari jam rude tempus erat.
Ov. de Tr. Lib. 4. El. 8.

Since bent beneath the load of years I ſtand,
I too might claim the freedom-giving wand.

Quòd te nomine jam tuo ſoluto,
Quem regem, & dominum priùs vocabam,
Nè me dixeris eſſe contumacem
Totis pilea ſarcinis redemi.
Mart. Lib. 2. Epig. 68.

By the plain name though now addreſt,
Though once my King and Lord confeſt,
Frown not: with all my goods I buy
The precious Cap of Liberty.

I cannot forbear repeating a paſſage out of *Perſius*, ſays *Cynthio*, that in my opinion turns the ceremony of making a Freeman very handſomly into ridicule. It ſeems the clapping a Cap

Cap on his head and giving him a Turn on the heel were neceſſary circumſtances. A Slave thus qualified became a Citizen of *Rome*, and was honoured with a name more than belonged to any of his Forefathers, which *Perſius* has repeated with a great deal of humour.

——*Heu ſteriles veri, quibus una Quiritem*
Vertigo facit! hic Dama eſt, non treſſis agaſo,
Vappa, et lippus, et in tenui ſarragine mendax.
Verterit hunc dominus, momento turbinis exit
Marcus Dama. Papæ! Marco ſpondente, recuſas
Credere tu nummos? Marco ſub judice palles?
Marcus dixit, ita eſt: aſſigna, Marce, tabellas.
Hæc mera libertas: hanc nobis pilea donant.

Perſ. Sat. 5.

That falſe Enfranchiſement with eaſe is found:
Slaves are made Citizens by turning round.
How! replies one, can any be more free?
Here's *Dama*, once a Groom of low degree,
Not worth a farthing, and a Sot beſide;
So true a Rogue, for lying's ſake he ly'd:
But, with a Turn, a Freeman he became;
Now *Marcus Dama* is his Worſhip's name.
Good Gods! who wou'd refuſe to lend a ſum,
If wealthy *Marcus* ſurety would become!
Marcus is made a Judge, and for a proof
Of certain truth, *he ſaid it*, is enough.
A Will is to be prov'd; put in your claim;
'Tis clear, if *Marcus* has ſubſcrib'd his name.
This is true liberty, as I believe;
What farther can we from our Caps receive,
Then as we pleaſe without control to live?

Mr. *Dryden*.

Since

Since you have given us the ceremony of the Cap, ſays *Eugenius*, I'll give you that of the Wand, out of *Claudian*.

Te faſtos ineunte quater, ſollennia ludit
Omina libertas, deductum Vindice morem
Lex celebrat, famuluſque jugo laxatus herili
Ducitur, et grato remeat ſecurior ictu.
Triſtis conditio pulſata fronte recedit:
In civem rubuere genæ, tergoque removit
Verbera permiſſi felix injuria voti.

Claud. de 4. Conſ. Hon.

The *Grato ictu* and the *felix injuria*, ſays *Cynthio*, would have told us the name of the Author, though you had ſaid nothing of him. There is none of all the Poets that delights ſo much in theſe pretty kinds of contradictions as *Claudian*. He loves to ſet his Epithet at variance with its ſubſtantive, and to ſurpriſe his Reader with a ſeeming abſurdity. If this Poet were well examined, one would find that ſome of his greateſt beauties as well as faults ariſe from the frequent uſe of this particular figure.

I queſtion not, ſays *Philander*, but you are tired by this time with the company of ſo myſterious a ſort of Ladies as thoſe we have had before us. We will now, for our diverſion, entertain ourſelves with a ſet of Riddles, and ſee if we can find a key to them among the ancient Poets. The firſt of them, ſays *Cynthio*, is a Ship under ſail, I ſuppoſe it has at leaſt a metaphor or moral precept for its cargo.

This,

This, says, *Philander*, is an emblem of Happiness, as you may see by the Inscription it carries in its Sails. We find the same Device to express the same thought in several of the Poets: as in *Horace*, when he speaks of the moderation to be used in a flowing fortune, and in *Ovid* when he reflects on his past happiness.

Rebus angustis animosus atque
Fortis appare: sapienter idem
Contrahes vento nimium secundo
Turgida vela. Hor. Od. 10. Lib. 2.

When Fortune sends a stormy wind,
Then shew a brave and present mind;
And when with too indulgent gales
She swells too much, then furl thy sails.
Mr. *Creech.*

Nominis et famæ quondam fulgore trahebar,
Dum tulit antennas aura secunda meas.
Ov. de Trist. Lib. 5. El. 12.

En ego, non paucis quondam munitus amicis,
Dum flavit velis aura secunda meis.
Id. Epist. ex Ponto 3. Lib. 2.

I liv'd the darling Theme of ev'ry tongue,
The golden Idol of th' adoring throng;
Guarded with friends, while *Fortune*'s balmy gales
Wanton'd auspicious in my swelling sails.

You see the metaphor is the same in the Verses as in the Medal, with this distinction only, that the one is in words and the other in figures.

gures. The Idea is alike in both, though the manner of repreſenting it is different. If you would ſee the whole Ship made uſe of in the ſame Senſe by an old Poet, as it is here on the Medal, you may find it in a pretty Allegory of *Seneca*.

Fata ſi liceat mihi
Fingere arbitrio meo,
Temperem zephyro levi
Vela, nè preſſæ gravi
Spiritu antennæ tremant.
Lenis et modicè fluens
Aura, nec vergens latus,
Ducat intrepidam ratem.
Sen. OEdip. Chor. Act. 4.

My fortune might I form at will,
My canvas Zephyrs ſoft ſhould fill
With gentle breath, leſt ruder gales
Crack the main-yard, or burſt the ſails.
By winds that temperately blow
The Barque ſhould paſs ſecure and flow,
Nor ſcare me leaning on her ſide:
But ſmoothly cleave th' unruffled tide.

After having conſidered the Ship as a Metaphor, we may now look on it as a Reality, and obſerve in it the Make of the old *Roman* veſſels, as they are deſcribed among the Poets. It is carried on by oars and ſails at the ſame time.

Sive opus eſt velis minimam bene currit ad auram,
Sive opus eſt remo remige carpit iter.
Ov. de Triſt. Lib. 1. El. 10.

The

The Poop of it has the bend that *Ovid* and *Virgil* mention.

———*puppique recurvæ.* Ibid. Lib. 1. El. 5.

———————*littora curvæ*
Prætexunt puppes———— Virg.

You see the description of the Pilot, and the place he sits on, in the following quotations.

Ipse gubernator puppi Palinurus ab altâ.
Virg. Æn. Lib. 5.

Ipsius ante oculos ingens à vertice pontus
In puppim ferit, excutitur, pronusque magister
Volvitur in caput.——— Id. Æn. Lib. 1.

Orontes' bark, that bore the *Lycian* crew,
(A horrid sight) ev'n in the Hero's view,
From stem to stern, by waves was overborn;
The trembling Pilot from his rudder torn,
Was headlong hurl'd; —— Mr. *Dryden.*

——*Segnemque Menœten,*
Oblitus decorisque sui sociûmque salutis,
In mare præcipitem puppi deturbat ab altâ:
Ipse gubernaclo rector subit. Id Æn. Lib. 5.

Mindless of others lives, (so high was grown
His rising rage,) and careless of his own:
The trembling dotard to the deck he drew;
And hoisted up, and overboard he threw;
This done, he seiz'd the helm——
Mr. *Dryden.*

I have mentioned theſe two laſt paſſages of *Virgil*, becauſe I think we cannot have ſo right an idea of the Pilot's misfortune in each of them, without obſerving the ſituation of his Poſt, as appears in ancient Coins. The figure you ſee on the other end of the ſhip is a *Triton*, a Man in his upper parts, and a fiſh below with a trumpet in his mouth. *Virgil* deſcribes him in the ſame manner on one of *Æneas*'s ſhips. It was probably a common figure on their ancient veſſels, for we meet with it too in *Silius Italicus*.

Hunc vehit immanis Triton, et cærula conchâ
Exterrens freta : cui lœterum tenus hiſpida nanti
Frons hominem præfert, in priſtim deſinit alvus ;
Spumea ſemifero ſub pectore murmurat unda.
Virg. Æn. Lib. 10.

The *Triton* bears him, he, whoſe trumpet's ſound
Old Ocean's waves from ſhore to ſhore rebound.
A hairy man above the waſte he ſhews,
A Porpoiſe tail down from his belly grows,
The billows murmur, which his Breaſt oppoſe.
Ld. *Lauderdale*.

Ducitur et Libyæ puppis ſignata figuram
Et Triton captivus. —— Sil. It. Lib. 14.

I am apt to think, ſays *Eugenius*, from certain paſſages of the Poets, that ſeveral ſhips made choice of ſome God or other for their guardians, as among the *Roman* Catholics every veſſel is recommended to the patronage of ſome particular Saint. To give you an inſtance of two or three.

Eſt mihi ſitque precor flavæ tutela Minervæ
Navis——— Ov. de Triſt. Lib. 1. El. 10.
Numen erat celſæ puppis vicina Dicne.
Sil. It. Lib. 14.

Hammon numen erat Libycæ gentile carinæ,
Cornigeràque ſedens ſpectabat cœrula fronte.
Ibid.

The poop great *Ammon Libya*'s God diſplay'd,
Whoſe horned front the nether flood ſurvey'd.

The figure of the Deity was very large, as I have ſeen it on other Medals as well as this you have ſhown us, and ſtood on one end of the veſſel that it patroniſed. This may give us an image of a very beautiful circumſtance that we meet with in a couple of wrecks deſcribed by *Silius Italicus*, and *Perſius*.

———*Subito cum pondere victus*
Inſiliente mari ſubmergitur alveus undis.
Scuta virûm criſtæque, et inerti ſpicula ferro
Tutelæque Deûm fluitant.—— Sil. It. Lib. 14.

Sunk by a weight ſo dreadful down ſhe goes,
And o'er her head the broken billows cloſe,
Bright ſhields and creſts float round the whirling floods,
And uſeleſs ſpears confus'd with tutelary Gods.

———*trabe ruptâ Bruttia ſaxa*
Prendit amicus inops, remque omnem ſurdaque vota
Condidit: Ionio jacet ipſe in littore, et unà
Ingentes de puppe Dei, jamque obvia mergis
Coſta ratis laccræ.——— Perſ. Sat. 6.

My friend is ſhipwreck'd on the *Brutian* ſtrand,
His riches in th' *Ionian* main are loſt;
And he himſelf ſtands ſhiv'ring on the coaſt:
Where, deſtitute of help, forlorn and bare,
He wearies the deaf Gods with fruitleſs pray'r.
Their images, the relics of the wreck,
Torn from their naked poop, are tided back
By the wild waves; and rudely thrown aſhore,
Lie impotent, nor can themſelves reſtore.
The veſſel ſticks, and ſhews her open'd ſide,
And on her ſhatter'd maſt the Mews in triumph ride. Mr. *Dryden.*

You will think perhaps I carry my conjectures too far, if I tell you that I fancy they are theſe kind of Gods that *Horace* mentions in his Allegorical veſſel which was ſo broken and ſhattered to pieces; for I am apt to think that *integra* relates to the Gods as well as the *lintea*.

———*non tibi ſunt integra lintea,*
Non Dii, quos iterum preſſa voces malo.
Hor. Od. 14. Lib. 1.

Thy ſtern is gone, thy Gods are loſt,
And thou haſt none to hear thy cry,
When thou on dang'rous ſhelves art toſt,
When billows rage, and winds are high.
Mr. *Creech.*

FIG. 2. Since we are engaged ſo far in the *Roman* ſhipping, ſays *Philander*, I'll here ſhow you a Medal that has on its reverſe a *Roſtrum* with three teeth to it; whence *Silius*'s *trifidum roſtrum* and *Virgil*'s *roſtriſque tridentibus*, which in ſome editions is *ſtri-*

ſtridentibus, the Editor chooſing rather to make a falſe quantity than to inſert a word that he did not know the meaning of. *Flaccus* gives us a *Roſtrum* of the ſame make.

——volat immiſſis cava pinus habenis
Infinditque ſalum, et ſpumas vomit ære tridenti.
Val. Flac. Argon. Lib. 1.

A Ship-carpenter of old *Rome*, ſays *Cynthio*, could not have talked more judiciouſly. I am afraid, if we let you alone, you will find out every plank and rope about the veſſel among the *Latin* Poets. Let us now, if you pleaſe, go to the next Medal.

The next, ſays *Philander*, is a pair of Scales, which we meet with on ſeveral old Coins. They are commonly interpreted as an emblem of the Emperor's Juſtice. But why may not we ſuppoſe that they allude ſometimes to the Balance in the Heavens, which was the reigning conſtellation of *Rome* and *Italy*? Whether it be ſo or no, they are capable methinks of receiving a nobler interpretation than what is commonly put on them, if we ſuppoſe the thought of the reverſe to be the ſame with that in *Manilius*. FIG. 3.

Heſperiam ſua Libra tenet, quâ condita Roma
Et propriis frænat pendentem nutibus orbem,
Orbis et Imperium retinet, diſcrimina rerum
Lancibus, et poſitas gentes tollitque premitque:
Qua genitus cum fratre Remus hanc condidit urbem.
Manil. Lib. 4.

The Scales rule *Italy*, where *Rome* commands,
And ſpreads its empire wide to foreign lands:
They hang upon her nod, their fates are weigh'd
By her, and laws are ſent to be obey'd:
And as her pow'rful favour turns the poiſe,
How low ſome nations ſink and others riſe!
Thus guide the Scales, and then to fix our doom,
They gave us * *Cæſar*, founder of our *Rome*.
Mr. *Creech*.

FIG. 4. The Thunderbolt is a reverſe of *Auguſtus*. We ſee it uſed by the greateſt Poet of the ſame age to expreſs a terrible and irreſiſtible force in battle, which is probably the meaning of it on this Medal for in another place the ſame Poet applies the ſame metaphor to *Auguſtus*'s perſon.

————*duo Fulmina belli*
Scipiadas———— Virg. Æn. Lib. 6.

————Who can declare
The *Scipio*'s worth, thoſe Thunderbolts of war?
Mr. *Dryden*.

————*dum Cæſar ad altum*
Fulminat Euphratem bello— Id. Georg. Lib. 4.

While mighty *Cæſar* thund'ring from afar,
Seeks on *Euphrates*' banks the ſpoils of war.
Mr. *Dryden*.

I have ſometimes wondered, ſays *Eugenius*, why the *Latin* Poets ſo frequently give the Epithets

* So *Voſſius* reads it.

of

of *trifidum* and *triſulcum* to the Thunderbolt. I am now perſuaded they took it from the ſculptors and painters that lived before them, and had generally given it three forks as in the preſent figure. *Virgil* inſiſts on the number three in its deſcription, and ſeems to hint at the wings we ſee on it. He has worked up ſuch a noiſe and terror in the compoſition of his Thunderbolt as cannot be expreſſed by a pencil or graving-tool.

Tres imbris torti radios, tres nubis aquoſæ
Addiderant, rutili tres ignis, et alitis auſtri.
Fulgores nunc terrificos ſonitumque metumque
Miſcebant operi, flammiſque ſequacibus iras.
Virg. Æn. Lib 8.

Three rays of writhen rain, of fire three more,
Of winged ſouthern winds, and cloudy ſtore
As many parts, the dreadful mixture frame,
And fears are added, and avenging flame.
Mr. *Dryden.*

Our next reverſe is an Oaken Garland, which we find on abundance of Imperial Coins. I ſhall not here multiply quotations to ſhow that the garland of Oak was the reward of ſuch as had ſaved the life of a citizen, but will give you a paſſage out of *Claudian*, where the compliment to *Stilico* is the ſame that we have here on the Medal. I queſtion not but the old Coins gave the thought to the Poet. FIG. 5.

Mos erat in veterum caſtris, ut tempora quercu
Velaret, validis qui fuſo viribus hoſte

Caſurum potuit morti ſubducere civem.
At tibi quæ poterit pro tantis civica reddi
Mœnibus? aut quantæ penſabunt facta coronæ?
Claud. de Laud. Stil. Lib. 3.

Of old, when in the war's tumultuous ſtrife
A *Roman* ſav'd a brother *Roman*'s life,
And foil'd the threatning foe, our Sires decreed
An Oaken Garland for the victor's meed.
Thou who haſt ſav'd whole crowds, whole towns ſet free,
What groves, what woods, ſhall furniſh crowns for thee?

It is not to be ſuppoſed that the Emperor had actually covered a *Roman* in battle. It is enough that he had driven out a tyrant, gained a victory, or reſtored Juſtice. For in any of theſe or the like caſes he may very well be ſaid to have ſaved the life of a citizen, and by conſequence intitled to the reward of it. Accordingly we find *Virgil* diſtributing his Oaken garlands to thoſe that had enlarged or ſtrengthned the dominions of *Rome*; as we may learn from *Statius* that the ſtatue of *Curtius*, who had ſacrificed himſelf for the good of the people, had the head ſurrounded with the ſame kind of ornament.

Atque umbrata gerunt civili tempora quercu.
Hi tibi Nomentum, et Gabios, urbemque Fidenam,
Hi Collatinas imponent montibus arces.
Virg. Æn. Lib. 6.

But they, who crown'd with Oaken wreaths appear,
Shall *Gabian* walls and ſtrong *Fidena* rear:

Nomen-

Nomentum, *Bola*, with *Pometia*, found;
And raiſe *Colatian* tow'rs on rocky ground.
Mr. *Dryden*.

Ipſe loci cuſtos, *cujus ſacrata vorago*,
Famoſuſque lacus nomen memorabile ſervat,
Innumeros æris ſonitus, *et verbere crudo*
Ut ſenſit mugire forum, *movet horrida ſanctо*
Ora ſitu, *meritâque caput venerabile quercu*.
Statius Sylv. Lib. 1.

The Guardian of that Lake, which boaſts to claim
A ſure memorial from the *Curtian* name;
Rous'd by th' artificers, whoſe mingled ſound
From the loud *Forum* pierc'd the ſhades profound,
The hoary viſion roſe confeſs'd in view,
And ſhook the Civic wreath that bound his brow.

The two horns that you ſee on the next Medal are emblems of *Plenty*. FIG. 8.

——————*apparetque beata pleno*
Copia Cornu. Hor. Carm. Sæc.

Your Medalliſts tell us that two horns on a Coin ſignify an extraordinary Plenty. But I ſee no foundation for this conjecture. Why ſhould they not as well have ſtamped two Thunder-bolts, two *Caduceus's*, or two Ships, to repreſent an extraordinary force, a laſting peace, or an unbounded happineſs. I rather think that the double *Cornucopia* relates to the double tradition of its original: Some repreſenting it as the horn of *Achelous* broken off by *Hercules*, and others as the horn of the Goat that gave ſuck to *Jupiter*.

——————rigidum fera dextera cornu
Dum tenet, infregit; truncâque à fronte revellit.
Naiades hoc, pomis et odoro flore repletum,
Sacrârunt; diveſque meo bona Copia cornu eſt.
Dixerat: et Nymphe ritu ſuccincta Dianæ
Una miniſtrarum, fuſis utrinque capillis,
Inceſſit, totumque tulit prædivite cornu
Autumnum, et menſas felicia poma ſecundas.
De Acheloi Cornu. Ov. Met. Lib. 9.

Nor yet his fury cool'd; 'twixt rage and ſcorn,
From my maim'd front he bore the ſtubborn horn:
This, heap'd with flowers and fruits, the *Naiads* bear,
Sacred to Plenty and the bounteous year.
He ſpoke; when lo a beauteous Nymph appears,
Girt like *Diana*'s train, with flowing hairs;
The horn ſhe brings, in which all Autumn's ſtor'd:
And ruddy apples for the ſecond board.
Mr. *Gay*.

Lac dabat illa Deo: ſed fregit in arbore cornu:
Truncaque dimidiâ parte decoris erat.
Suſtulit hoc Nymphe; cinctumque recentibus herbis,
Et plenum pomis ad Jovis ora tulit.
Ille, ubi res cœli tenuit, ſolioque paterno
Sedit, et invicto nil Jove majus erat,
Sidera nutricem, nutricis fertile cornu
Fecit; quod dominæ nunc quoque nomen habet.
De Cornu Amaltheæ. Ov. de Faſt. Lib. 5.

The God ſhe ſuckled of old *Rhea* born;
And in the pious office broke her horn,
As playful in a rifted Oak ſhe toſt
Her heedleſs head, and half its honours loſt.
Fair

Fair *Amalthæa* took it off the ground,
With apples fill'd it and with garlands bound,
Which to the ſmiling infant ſhe convey'd.
He, when the ſceptre of the Gods he ſway'd,
When bold he ſeized his father's vacant throne,
And reign'd the tyrant of the ſkies alone,
Bid his rough nurſe the ſtarry Heavens adorn,
And grateful in the Zodiac fix'd her Horn.

Betwixt the double *Cornu-copia* you ſee *Mercury*'s rod.

Cyllenes cœlique decus, facunde miniſter,
Aurea cui torto virga dracone viret.
Mart. Lib. 7. Epig. 74.

Deſcend, *Cyllene*'s tutelary God,
With ſerpents twining round thy golden rod.

It ſtands on old Coins as an emblem of peace by reaſon of its ſtupifying quality that has gained it the title of *Virga ſomnifera*. It has wings, for another quality that *Virgil* mentions in his deſcription of it.

——*hac fretus ventos et nubila tranat.* Virg.

Thus arm'd, the God begins his airy race,
And drives the racking clouds along the liquid ſpace. Mr. *Dryden.*

The two heads over the two *Cornu-copiæ* are of the Emperor's children, who are ſometimes called among the Poets the pledges of Peace, as they took away the occaſions of war in cutting off all diſputes to the ſucceſſion.

——————tu mihi primum
Tot natorum memoranda parens ———
Utero toties enixa gravi
Pignora pacis. Sen. Octav. Act. 5.

Thee firſt kind author of my joys,
Thou ſource of many ſmiling boys,
Nobly contented to beſtow
A pledge of peace in every throe.

This Medal therefore compliments the Emperor on his two children, whom it repreſents as public bleſſings that promiſe Peace and Plenty to the Empire.

FIG. 7. The two hands that join one another are Emblems of *Fidelity*.

Inde Fides dextræque datæ— Ov. Met. Lib. 14.

Sociemus animos, pignus hoc fidei cape,
Continge dextram—— Sen. Herc. Fur. Act. 2.

———en dextra fidesque
Quem ſecum patrios aiunt portare penates!
Virg. Æn. Lib. 4.

See now the promis'd faith, the vaunted name,
The pious man, who ruſhing thro' the flame,
Preſerv'd his Gods——— Mr. *Dryden*.

By the Inſcription we may ſee that they repreſent in this place the Fidelity or Loyalty of the public towards their Emperor. The *Caduceus* riſing between the hands ſignifies the Peace that ariſes from ſuch an union with their Prince,

as

as the ſpike of Corn on each ſide ſhadows out the Plenty that is the fruit of ſuch a peace.

Pax Cererem nutrit, pacis alumna Ceres.
Ov. de Faſt. Lib. 1.

The giving of a hand, in the reverſe of *Claudius*, is a token of good-will. For when, after the death of his nephew *Caligula*, *Claudius* was in no ſmall apprehenſion for his own life, he was, contrary to his expectation, well received among the *Prætorian* guards, and afterwards declared their Emperor. His reception is here recorded on a Medal, in which one of the Enſigns preſents him his hand, in the ſame ſenſe as *Anchiſes* gives it in the following verſes. FIG. 8.

Ipſe pater dextram Anchiſes haud multa moratus
Dat juveni, atque animum præſenti munere firmat.
Virg. Æn. Lib. 3.

The old weather beaten ſoldier that carries in his hand the *Roman* Eagle, is the ſame kind of office that you meet with in *Juvenal*'s fourteenth Satire.

Dirue Maurorum attegias, caſtella Brigantum,
Ut locupletem Aquilam tibi ſexageſimus annus
Afferat——— Juv. Sat. 14.

I remember in one of the Poets the *Signifer* is deſcribed with a Lion's ſkin over his head and ſhoulders, like this we ſee in the Medal, but at preſent I cannot recollect the paſſage. *Virgil* has

has given us a noble deſcription of a warrior making his appearance under a Lion's ſkin.

———*tegmen torquens immane Leonis*
Terribili impexum ſetâ, cum dentibus albis
Indutus capiti, ſic regia tecta ſubibat
Horridus, Herculeoque humeros indutus amictu.
Virg. Æn. Lib. 7.

Like *Hercules* himſelf his ſon appears,
In ſavage pomp: a Lion's hide he wears;
About his ſhoulders hangs the ſhaggy ſkin,
The teeth, and gaping jaws ſeverely grin.
Thus like the God his father, homely dreſt,
He ſtrides into the hall, a horrid gueſt!
Mr. *Dryden*.

Since you have mentioned the dreſs of your Standard-bearer, ſays *Cynthio*, I cannot forbear remarking that of *Claudius*, which was the uſual *Roman* habit. One may ſee in this Medal, as well as in any antique Statues, that the old *Romans* had their necks and arms bare, and as much expoſed to view as our hands and faces are at preſent. Before I had made this remark, I have ſometimes wondered to ſee the *Roman* Poets, in their deſcriptions of a beautiful man, ſo often mentioning the Turn of his Neck and Arms, that in our modern dreſſes lie out of ſight, and are covered under part of the clothing. Not to trouble you with many quotations, *Horace* ſpeaks of both theſe parts of the body in the beginning of an Ode, that in my opinion may be reckoned among the fineſt of his book, for the naturalneſs of the thought, and the beauty of the expreſſion.

Dam

Dum tu, Lydia, Telephi
Cervicem roseam, et cerea Telephi
Laudas brachia, væ meum
Fervens difficili bile tumet jecur.

When *Telephus* his youthful charms,
His rosy neck, and winding arms,
With endless rapture you recite,
And in that pleasing name delight;
My heart, inflam'd by jealous heats,
With numberless resentments beats;
From my pale cheek the colour flies,
And all the Man within me dies.

It was probably this particular in the *Roman* habit that gave *Virgil* the thought in the following verse, where *Remulus*, among other reproaches that he makes the *Trojans* for their softness and effeminacy, upbraids them with the Make of their *Tunica*'s that had sleeves to them, and did not leave the arms naked and exposed to the weather like that of the *Romans*.

Et tunicæ manicas, et habent ridimicula mitræ.

Virgil lets us know in another place, that the *Italians* preserved their old language and habits, notwithstanding the *Trojans* became their Masters, and that the *Trojans* themselves quitted the dress of their own country for that of *Italy*. This he tells us was the effect of a prayer that *Juno* made to *Jupiter*.

Illud te, nullâ fati quod lege tenetur,
Pro Latio obtestor, pro majestate tuorum:
Cum jam connubiis pacem felicibus (esto;)
Component,

Component, cum jam leges et fœdera jungent;
Ne vetus indigenas nomen mutare Latinos,
Neu Troas fieri jubeas, Teucroſque vocari;
Aut vocem mutare vires, aut vertere veſtes.
Sit Latium, ſint Albani per ſæcula reges:
Sit Romana potens Italâ virtute propago:
Occidit, occideritque ſinas cum nomine Troja.

Æn. Lib. 12.

This let me beg (and this no Fates withſtand)
Both for myſelf and for your father's land,
That when the nuptial bed ſhall bind the peace,
(Which I, ſince you ordain, conſent to bleſs)
The laws of either nation be the ſame;
But let the *Latins* ſtill retain their name:
Speak the ſame language which they ſpoke before,
Wear the ſame habits, which their Grandſires wore.
Call them not *Trojans:* periſh the renown
And name of *Troy* with that deteſted town.
Latium be *Latium* ſtill: let *Alba* reign,
And *Rome*'s immortal Majeſty remain.

Mr. *Dryden.*

By the way, I have often admired at *Virgil* for repreſenting his *Juno* with ſuch an impotent kind of revenge as what is the ſubject of this ſpeech. You may be ſure, ſays *Eugenius*, that *Virgil* knew very well this was a trifling kind of requeſt for the Queen of the Gods to make, as we may find by *Jupiter*'s way of accepting it.

Olli ſubridens hominum rerumque repertor:
Et germana Jovis, Saturnique altera proles:
Irarum tantos volvis ſub pectore fluctus?
Verum age, et inceptum fruſtra ſubmitte furorem.

Do,

Do, quod vis; et me victusque volensque remitto.
Sermonem Ausonii patrium moresque tenebunt.
Utque est, nomen erit: commixti corpore tantùm
Subsident Teucri: morem ritusque sacrorum
Adjiciam, faciamque omnes uno ore Latinos, &c.
Æn. Lib. 12.

Then thus the Founder of mankind replies,
(Unruffled was his front, serene his eyes,)
Can *Saturn*'s issue, and Heav'n's other Heir,
Such endless anger in her bosom bear?
Be mistress, and your full desires obtain;
But quench the choler you foment in vain.
From ancient blood th' *Ausonian* people sprung,
Shall keep their name, their habit, and their tongue.
The *Trojans* to their customs shall be ty'd,
I will myself their common rites provide;
The natives shall command, the foreigners subside:
All shall be *Latium*; *Troy* without a name:
And her lost sons forget from whence they came.
Mr. *Dryden*.

I am apt to think *Virgil* had a further view in this request of *Juno* than what his Commentators have discovered in it. He knew very well that his *Æneid* was founded in a very doubtful story, and that *Æneas*'s coming into *Italy* was not universally received among the *Romans* themselves. He knew too that a main objection to this story was the great difference of Customs, Language and Habits among the *Romans* and *Trojans*. To obviate therefore so strong an objection, he makes this difference to arise from the forecast and præ-determination of the Gods themselves.

But

But pray what is the name of the Lady in the next Medal? Methinks ſhe is very particular in her Quoiffure.

FIG. 9. It is the emblem of Fruitfulneſs, ſays *Philander*, and was deſigned as a compliment to *Julia* the wife of *Septimius Severus*, who had the ſame number of children as you ſee on this Coin. Her head is crowned with towers in alluſion to *Cybele* the mother of the Gods, and for the ſame reaſon that *Virgil* compares the city of *Rome* to her.

Felix prole virûm, qualis Berecynthia mater
Invehitur curru Phrygias turrita per urbes,
Læta Deûm partu——— Virg. Æn. Lib. 6.

High as the mother of the Gods in place,
And proud, like her, of an immortal race.
Then when in pomp ſhe makes a *Phrygian* round,
With golden turrets on her temples crown'd.
Mr. *Dryden.*

The Vine iſſuing out of the Urn ſpeaks the ſame ſenſe as that in the Pſalmiſt. *Thy wife ſhall be as the fruitful vine on the walls of thy houſe.* The four Stars overhead, and the ſame number on the Globe, repreſent the four children. There is a Medalion of *Romulus* and *Remus* ſucking the wolf, with a Star over each of their heads, as we find the *Latin* Poets ſpeaking of the children of Princes under the ſame metaphor.

Utque tui faciunt ſidus juvenile nepotes,
Per tua perque ſui facta parentis eant.
Ov. de Triſt. Lib. 2. El. 1.

———*Tu*

———*Tu quoque extinctus jaces.*
Defiende nobis semper, infelix puer,
Modo sidus orbis, columen angustæ domûs,
Britannice. ——— Sen. Octav. Act. 1.

Thou too dear youth, to ashes turn'd,
Britannicus, for ever mourn'd!
Thou Star that wont this Orb to grace!
Thou pillar of the *Julian* race!

———*Maneas hominum contentus habenis,*
Undarum terræque potens, et sidera dones.
Stat. Theb. Lib. 1.

——Stay, great *Cæsar*, and vouchsafe to reign
O'er the wide earth, and o'er the watry main:
Resign to *Jove* his Empire of the skies,
And people Heav'n with *Roman* Deities.
Mr. *Pope.*

I need not mention *Homer*'s comparing *Astyanax* to the Morning-star, nor *Virgil*'s imitation of him in his description of *Ascanius*.

The next Medal was stampt on the marriage of *Nero* and *Octavia*; you see the Sun over the head of *Nero*, and the Moon over that of *Octavia*. They face one another according to the situation of these two Planets in the Heavens. FIG. 10.

———*Phœbeis obvia flammis*
Demet nocti Luna timores. Sen. Thyest. Act. 4.

And to shew that *Octavia* derived her whole lustre from the friendly aspect of her husband.

Sicut

Sicut Luna ſuo tunc tantum deficit orbe,
Quum Phœbum adverſis currentem non videt aſtris.
Manil. Lib. 4.

Becauſe the Moon then only feels decay,
When oppoſite unto her brother's ray.
Mr. *Creech.*

But if we conſider the hiſtory of this Medal, we ſhall find more Fancy in it than the Medalliſts have yet diſcovered. *Nero* and *Octavia* were not only huſband and wife, but brother and ſiſter, *Claudius* being the father of both. We have this relation between them marked out in the Tragedy of *Octavia*, where it ſpeaks of her marriage with *Nero*.

Fratris thalamos ſortita tenet
Maxima Juno: ſoror Auguſti
Sociata toris, cur à patriâ
Pellitur Aulâ? ——— Sen. Oct. Act. 1.

To *Jove* his ſiſter conſort wed,
Uncenſur'd ſhares her brother's bed:
Shall *Cæſar's* wife and ſiſter wait,
An Exile at her huſband's gate?

Implebit aulam ſtirpe cœleſti tuam
Generata divo, Claudiæ gentis decus,
Sortita fratris, more Junonis, toros. Ibid. Act. 2.

Thy ſiſter, bright with ev'ry blooming grace,
Will mount thy bed t' enlarge the *Claudian* race:
And proudly teeming with fraternal love,
Shall reign a *Juno* with the *Roman Jove.*

They

They are therefore very prettily repreſented by the Sun and Moon, who as they are the moſt glorious parts of the univerſe, are in a poetical genealogy brother and ſiſter. *Virgil* gives us a ſight of them in the ſame poſition that they regard each other on this Medal.

Nec Fratris radiis obnoxia ſurgere Luna.
Virg. Georg. 1.

The flattery on the next Medal is in the ſame thought as that of *Lucretius.* FIG. 11.

Ipſe Epicurus obît decurſo lumine vitæ;
Qui genus humanum ingenio ſuperavit, et omneis
Præſtinxit, ſtellas exortus uti ætherius Sol.
Lucret. Lib. 3.

Nay, *Epicurus'* race of life is run;
That man of wit, who other men outſhone,
As far as meaner ſtars the mid-day Sun.
Mr. *Creech.*

The Emperor appears as a Riſing Sun, and holds a Globe in his hand to figure out the Earth that is enlightned and actuated by his beauty.

Sol qui terrarum flammis opera omnia luſtras. Virg.

——————ubi primos craſtinus ortus
Extulerit Titan, radiiſque retexerit orbem. Id.

When next the Sun his riſing light diſplays,
And gilds the world below with purple rays.
Mr. *Dryden.*

On

On his head you ſee the rays that ſeem to grow out of it. *Claudian* in the deſcription of his infant *Titan* deſcants on this glory about his head, but has run his deſcription into moſt wretched fuſtian.

Invalidum dextro portat Titana lacerto,
Nondum luce gravem, nec pubeſcentibus altè
Criſtatum radiis; primo clementior ævo
Fingitur, & tenerum vagitu deſpuit ignem.
Claud. de rapt. Proſ. Lib. 2.

An infant *Titan* held ſhe in her arms;
Yet ſufferably bright, the eye might bear
The ungrown glories of his beamy hair.
Mild was the babe, and from his cries there came
A gentle breathing and a harmleſs flame.

FIG. 12. The Sun riſes on a Medal of *Commodus*, as *Ovid* deſcribes him in the ſtory of *Phaeton*.

Ardua prima via eſt, et quà vix manè recentes
Enituntur equi—— Ov. Met. Lib. 2.

You have here too the four horſes breaking through the clouds in their morning paſſage.

——*Pyroëis, et Eöus, et Æthon,*
Solis equi, quartuſque Phlegon—— Ibid.

Corripuere viam, pedibuſque per aëra motis
Obſtantes ſcindunt nebulas—— Ibid.

The woman underneath repreſents the Earth, as *Ovid* has drawn her ſitting in the ſame figure.

Suſtulit

Sustulit omniferos collo tenus arida vultus;
Oppositque manum fronti, magnoque tremore
Omnia concutiens paulum subsedit. Ibid.

The earth at length——
Uplifted to the heav'ns her blasted head,
And clap'd her hand upon her brows, and said,
(But first, impatient of the sultry heat,
Sunk deeper down, and sought a cooler seat)

The *Cornu-copiæ* in her hand is a type of her fruitfulness, as in the speech she makes to *Jupiter.*

Hosne mihi fructus, hunc fertilitatis honorem,
Officiique refers? quod adunci vulnera aratri
Rastrorumque fero, totoque exerceor anno?
Quod pecori frondes, alimentaque mitia fruges
Humano generi, vobis quoque thura ministro?
Ibid.

And does the plough for this my body tear?
This the reward for all the fruits I bear,
Tortur'd with rakes, and harrass'd all the year?
That herbs for cattle daily I renew,
And food for man; and frankincense for you?

So much for the designing part of the Medal; as for the thought of it, the Antiquaries are divided upon it. For my part I cannot doubt but it was made as a compliment to *Commodus* on his skill in the chariot-race. It is supposed that the same occasion furnished *Lucan* with the same thought in his address to *Nero.*

Seu

Seu te flammigeros Phœbi conſcendere currus,
Telluremque nihil, mutato ſole, timentem
Igne vago luſtrare juvet——
Luc. Lib. 1. ad Neronem.

Or if thou chooſe the empire of the day,
And make the Sun's unwilling ſteeds obey;
Auſpicious if thou drive the flaming team,
While earth rejoices in thy gentler beam——
Mr. *Rowe.*

This is ſo natural an alluſion, that we find the courſe of the Sun deſcribed in the Poets by metaphors borrowed from the *Circus.*

Quum ſuſpenſus eat Phœbus, currumque reflectat
Huc illuc, agiles et fervet in æthere metas.
Manil. Lib. 1.

——*Heſperio poſitas in littore metas.*
Ov. Met. Lib. 2.

Et Sol ex æquo metâ diſtabat utrâque. Idem.

However it be, we are ſure in general it is a comparing of *Commodus* to the Sun, which is a ſimile of as long ſtanding as poetry, I had almoſt ſaid, as the Sun itſelf.

I believe, ſays *Cynthio*, there is ſcarce a great man he ever ſhone upon that has not been compared to him. I look on ſimiles as a part of his productions. I do not know whether he raiſes fruits or flowers in greater number. *Horace* has turn'd this compariſon into ridicule ſeventeen hundred years ago.

——*Laudat*

——*Laudat Brutum, laudatque cohortem,*
Solem Aſiæ Brutum appellat— Hor. Sat. 7. Lib. 1.

He praiſeth *Brutus* much and all his train;
He calls him *Aſia*'s Sun—— Mr. *Creech*.

You have now ſhown us perſons under the diſguiſe of Stars, Moons and Suns. I ſuppoſe we have at laſt done with the celeſtial bodies.

The next figure you ſee, ſays *Philander*, had once a place in the Heavens, if you will believe eccleſiaſtical ſtory. It is the ſign that is ſaid to have appeared to *Conſtantine* before the battle with *Maxentius*. We are told by a Chriſtian Poet, that he caus'd it to be wrought on the military Enſigns that the *Romans* call their *Labarum*. And it is on this Enſign that we find it in the preſent Medal. FIG. 13.

Chriſtus purpureum gemmanti textus in auro
Signabat Labarum.——
Prudent. contra Symm. Lib. 1.

A Chriſt was on th' Imperial ſtandard born,
That Gold embroiders, and that Gems adorn.

By the word *Chriſtus*, he means without doubt the preſent figure, which is compoſed out of the two initial letters of the name.

He bore the ſame ſign in his ſtandards, as you may ſee in the following Medals and verſes. FIG. 14.

Agneſcas, Regina, libens mea ſigna neceſſe eſt:
In quibus Effigies Crucis aut gemmata refulget,
Aut longis ſolido ex auro præfertur in haſtis.
Conſtantinus Romam alloquitur. Ibid.

My

My Ensign let the Queen of nations praise,
That rich in gems the Christian Cross displays:
There rich in gems; but on my quiv'ring spears
In solid gold the sacred mark appears.

Vexillumque Crucis summus dominator adorat.
Id. in Apotheosi.

See there the Cross he wav'd on hostile shores,
The Emperor of all the world adores.

FIG. 15. But to return to our *Labarum*; if you have a mind to see it in a state of Paganism you have it on a Coin of *Tiberius*. It stands between two other Ensigns, and is the mark of a *Roman* Colony where the Medal was stamped. By the way you must observe, that where-ever the *Romans* fixed their standards they looked on that place as their country, and thought themselves obliged to defend it with their lives. For this reason their standards were always carried before them when they went to settle themselves in a Colony. This gives the meaning of a couple of verses in *Silius Italicus* that make a very far-fetcht compliment to *Fabius*.

Ocyus huc Aquilas servataque signa referte,
Hic patria est, murique urbis stant pectore in uno.
Sil. It. Lib. 7.

FIG. 16. The following Medal was stamped on *Trajan*'s victory over the *Daci*, you see on it the figure of *Trajan* presenting a little *Victory* to *Rome*. Between them lies the conquered province of *Dacia*. It may be worth while to observe the particularities in each figure. We see abundance of persons on old

Coins

Coins that hold a little *Victory* in one hand, like this of *Trajan*, which is always the ſign of a Conqueſt. I have ſometime fancied *Virgil* alludes to this cuſtom in a verſe that *Turnus* ſpeaks.

Non adeo has exoſa manus Victoria fugit.
Virg. Æn. Lib. 11.

If you conſent, he ſhall not be refus'd,
Nor find a hand to Victory unus'd.
Mr. *Dryden.*

The Emperor's ſtanding in a Gown, and making a preſent of his *Dacian* Victory to the city of *Rome*, agrees very well with *Claudian*'s character of him.

———*victura feretur*
Gloria Trajani; non tam quod, Tigride victo,
Noſtra triumphati fuerint provincia Parthi,
Alta quod invectus ſtratis capitolia Dacis:
Quam patriæ quod mitis erat——
Claud. de 4*to* Conſ. Honor.

Thy glory, *Trajan*, ſhall for ever live,
Not that thy arms the *Tigris* mourn'd, o'ercome,
And tributary *Parthia* bow'd to *Rome*,
Not that the Capitol receiv'd thy train
With ſhouts of triumph for the *Daci* ſlain:
But for thy mildneſs to thy country ſhown.

The City of *Rome* carries the Wand in her hand that is the ſymbol of her Divinity.

Delubrum Romæ (colitur nam ſanguine et ipſa
More Deæ)—— Prudent. cont. Sym. Lib. 1.

For *Rome*, a Goddeſs too, can boaſt her ſhrine,
With victims ſtain'd, and ſought with rites divine.

As the Globe under her feet betokens her dominion over all the nations of the earth.

Terrarum Dea, Gentiumque Roma;
Cui par eſt nihil, et nihil ſecundum.
Mart. Lib. 12. Epig. 8.

O *Rome*, thou Goddeſs of the earth!
To whom no rival e'er had birth;
Nor ſecond e'er ſhall riſe.

The heap of arms ſhe ſits on ſignifies the Peace that the Emperor had procured her. On old Coins we often ſee an Emperor, a *Victory*, the city of *Rome*, or a ſlave, ſitting on a heap of arms, which always marks out the Peace that aroſe from ſuch an action as gave occaſion to the Medal. I think we cannot doubt but *Virgil* copied out this circumſtance from the ancient Sculptors, in that inimitable deſcription he has given us of *Military Fury* ſhut up in the Temple of *Janus* and loaden with chains.

Claudentur belli portæ: Furor impius intus
Sæva ſedens ſuper arma, et centum vinctus ahenis
Poſt tergum nodis, fremet horridus ore cruento.
Virg. Æn. Lib. 1.

Janus himſelf before his fane ſhall wait,
And keep the dreadful iſſues of his gate,
With bolts and iron bars: within remains
Impriſon'd *Fury*, bound in brazen chains:

High

High on a Trophy rais'd of uſeleſs arms
He ſits, and threats the world with dire alarms.
Mr. *Dryden.*

We are told by the old Scholiaſt, ſays *Eugenius*, that there was actually ſuch a ſtatue in the Temple of *Janus* as that *Virgil* has here deſcribed, which I am almoſt apt to believe, ſince you aſſure us that this part of the deſign is ſo often met with on ancient Medals. But have you nothing to remark on the figure of the Province? Her poſture, ſays *Philander*, is what we often meet with in the ſlaves and captives of old Coins: among the Poets too, ſitting on the ground is a mark of Miſery or Captivity.

Multos illa dies incomtis mœſta capillis
Sederat——— Propert. Lib. 1.

O utinam ante tuos ſedeam captiva penates.
Id. Lib. 4.

O might I ſit a captive at thy gate!

You have the ſame poſture in an old Coin that celebrates a victory of *Lucius Verus* over the *Parthians*. The captive's hands are here bound behind him, as a farther inſtance of his ſlavery. FIG. 17.

Ecce manus juvenem interea poſt terga revinctum,
Paſtores magno ad Regem clamore ferebant.
Virg. Æn. Lib. 2.

Mean while, with ſhouts, the *Trojan* ſhepherds bring
A captive Greek in bands before the King.
Mr. *Dryden.*

Cui dedit invitas victa noverca manus. Ov. de Faſt.

Cùm rudis urgenti brachia victa dedi. Propert. L. 4.

We may learn from *Ovid* that it was ſometimes the cuſtom to place a ſlave with his arms bound at the foot of the Trophy, as in the figure before us.

Stentque ſuper vinctos trunca trophæa viros.
Ov. Ep. ex Ponto Lib. 4.

You ſee on his head the cap which the *Parthians*, and indeed moſt of the eaſtern nations, wear on Medals. They had not probably the ceremony of veiling the Bonnet in their ſalutations, for in Medals they ſtill have it on their heads, whether they are before Emperors or Generals, kneeling, ſitting or ſtanding. *Martial* has diſtinguiſhed them by this cap as their chief characteriſtic.

Fruſtra blanditiæ venitis ad me
Attritis miſerabiles labellis,
Dicturus dominum, deumque non ſum:
Jam non eſt locus hâc in urbe vobis.
Ad Parthos procul ite pileatos,
Et turpes, humileſque ſuppliceſque
Pictorum ſola baſiate regum.
Mart. Epig. 72. Lib. 10.

In vain, mean flatteries, ye try,
To gnaw the lip, and fall the eye;
No Man a God or Lord I name:
From *Romans* far be ſuch a ſhame!
Go teach the ſupple *Parthian* how
To veil the bonnet on his brow;

Or on the ground all proſtrate fling
Some *Pict*, before his barbarous King.

I cannot hear, ſays *Cynthio*, without a kind of indignation, the ſatirical reflexions that *Martial* has made on the memory of *Domitian*. It is certain ſo ill an Emperor deſerved all the reproaches that could be heaped upon him, but he could not deſerve them of *Martial*. I muſt confeſs I am leſs ſcandaliſed at the flatteries the Epigrammatiſt paid him living, than the ingratitude he ſhowed him dead. A Man may be betrayed into the one by an overſtrained complaiſance, or by a temper extremely ſenſible of favours and obligations: whereas the other can ariſe from nothing but a natural baſeneſs and villany of ſoul. It does not always happen, ſays *Philander*, that the Poet and the honeſt man meet together in the ſame perſon. I think we need enlarge no farther on this Medal, unleſs you have a mind to compare the Trophy on it with that of *Mezentius* in *Virgil*.

Ingentem quercum deciſis undique ramis
Conſtituit tumulo, fulgentiaque induit arma,
Mezenti ducis exuvias; tibi, magne, tropæum,
Bellipotens: aptat rorantes ſanguine criſtas,
Telaque trunca viri, et bis ſex thoraca petitum
Perfoſſumque locis; clypeumque ex ære ſiniſtræ
Subligat, atque enſem collo ſuſpendit eburnum.
Virg. Æn. Lib. 11.

He bar'd an ancient Oak of all her boughs:
Then on a riſing ground the trunk he plac'd;
Which with the ſpoils of his dead foe he grac'd.

The coat of arms by proud *Mezentius* worn,
Now on a naked Snag in triumph born,
Was hung on high; and glitter'd from afar:
A trophy ſacred to the God of war.
Above his arms, fix'd on the leafleſs wood,
Appear'd his plumy creſt, beſmear'd with blood;
His brazen buckler on the left was ſeen;
Truncheons of ſhiver'd lances hung between:
And on the right was plac'd his Corſlet, bor'd,
And to the neck was ty'd his unavailing ſword.
Mr. *Dryden.*

FIG. 18. On the next Medal you ſee the Peace that *Veſpaſian* procured the Empire, after having happily finiſhed all its wars both at home and abroad. The woman with the olive-branch in her hand is the figure of *Peace.*

——————*pignore Pacis*
Prætendens dextrâ ramum canentis olivæ.
Sil. It. Lib. 3.

With the other hand ſhe thruſts a lighted torch under a heap of armour that lies by an Altar. This alludes to a cuſtom among the ancient *Romans* of gathering up the armour that lay ſcattered on the field of battle, and burning it as an offering to one of their Deities. It is to this cuſtom that *Virgil* refers, and *Silius Italicus* has deſcribed at large.

Qualis eram cùm primam aciem Præneſte ſub ipſâ
Stravi, ſcutorumque incendi victor acervos.
Virg. Æn. Lib. 8.

Such

Such as was beneath *Prænesle*'s walls;
Then when I made the foremost foes retire,
And set whole heaps of conquer'd shields on fire.
Mr. *Dryden.*

Ast tibi, Bellipotens, Sacrum, constructus acervo
Ingenti mons armorum consurgit ad astra:
Ipse manu celsam pinum, flammâque comantem
Attollens, ductor Gradivum in vota ciebat:
Primitias pugnæ, et læti libamina belli,
Hannibal Ausonio cremat hæc de nomine victor,
Et tibi, Mars genitor, votorum haud surde meorum,
Arma electa dicat spirantum turba virorum.
Tum face conjectâ, populatur fervidus ignis
Flagrantem molem; et ruptâ caligine, in auras
Actus apex claro perfundit lumine campos.
Sil. It. Lib. 10.

To thee the Warrior-God, aloft in air
A mountain-pile of *Roman* Arms they rear:
The Gen'ral grasping in his Victor-hand
A pine of stately growth, he wav'd the brand,
And cry'd, O *Mars!* to thee devote I yield
These choice first-fruits of Honour's purple field.
Join'd with the partners of my toil and praise,
Thy *Hannibal* this vow'd oblation pays;
Grateful to thee for *Latian* laurels won:
Accept this homage, and absolve thy son.——
Then, to the pile the flaming torch he tost;
In smould'ring smoke the light of Heav'n is lost:
But when the fire increase of fury gains
The blaze of Glory gilds the distant plains.

As for the heap of Arms, and mountain of Arms, that the Poet mentions, you may see them on two Coins of *Marcus Aurelius*. DE SARMATIS and DE GERMANIS allude perhaps FIG. 19. 20.

haps to the form of words that might be uſed at the ſetting fire to them.——*Auſonio de nomine.* Thoſe who will not allow of the interpretation I have put on theſe two laſt Medals may think it an objection that there is no torch or fire near them to ſignify any ſuch alluſion. But they may conſider that on ſeveral Imperial Coins we meet with the figure of a funeral pile, without any thing to denote the burning of it, though indeed there is on ſome of them a Flambeau ſticking out on each ſide, to let us know it was to be conſumed to aſhes.

You have been ſo intent on the burning of the Arms, ſays *Cynthio*, that you have forgotten the Pillar on your 18th Medal. You may find the hiſtory of it, ſays *Philander*, in *Ovid de Faſtis.* It was from this Pillar that the ſpear was toſſed at the opening of a war, for which reaſon the little figure on the top of it holds a ſpear in its hand, and *Peace* turns her back upon it.

Proſpicit à templo ſummum brevis area Circum:
Eſt ibi non parvæ parva columna notæ:
Hinc ſolet haſta manu, belli prænuncia, mitti;
In regem et gentes cum placet arma capi.
Ov. de Faſt. Lib. 6.

Where the high Fane the ample Cirque commands
A little, but a noted pillar ſtands,
From hence, when *Rome* the diſtant Kings defies,
In form the war-denouncing Javelin flies.

FIG. 21. The different interpretations that have been made on the next Medal ſeem to be forced and unnatural. I will therefore give you my own opinion of it. The veſſel is here repreſented as ſtranded. The figure before

fore it seems to come in to its assistance, and to lift it off the shallows: for we see the water scarce reaches up to the knees, though it is the figure of a man standing on firm ground. His attendants, and the good office he is employed upon, resemble those the Poets often attribute to *Neptune*. *Homer* tells us, that the Whales leaped up at their God's approach, as we see in the Medal. The two small figures that stand naked among the waves are Sea-Deities of an inferior rank, who are supposed to assist their Sovereign in the Succour he gives the distressed vessel.

Cymothoë, simul et Triton adnixus acuto
Detrudunt naves scopulo; levat ipse tridenti,
Et vastas aperit syrtes, et temperat æquor.
Virg. Æn. Lib. 1.

Cymothoë, Triton, and the sea-green train
Of beauteous Nymphs, the daughters of the main,
Clear from the rocks the vessels with their hands,
The God himself with ready trident stands,
And opes the deep, and spreads the moving sands.
Mr. *Dryden*.

Jam placidis ratis extat aquis, quam gurgite ab imo
Et Thetis, et magnis Nereus socer erigit ulnis.
Val. Flac. Lib. 1.

The interpreters of this Medal have mistaken these two figures for the representation of two persons that are drowning. But as they are both naked and drawn in a posture rather of triumphing o'er the waves than of sinking under them, so we see abundance of Water-Deities on other Medals represented after the same manner.

Ite Deæ virides, liquidoſque advertite vultus,
Et vitreum teneris crinem redimite corymbis,
Veſte nihil tectæ: quales emergitis altis
Fontibus, et viſu Satyros torquetis amantes.
Statius de Balneo Etruſci. Lib. 1.

Haſte, haſte, ye *Naiads!* with attractive art
New charms to ev'ry native grace impart:
With op'ning flourets bind your ſea-green hair,
Unveil'd; and naked let your limbs appear:
So from the ſprings the *Satyrs* ſee you riſe,
And drink eternal paſſion at their eyes.

After having thus far cleared our way to the Medal, I take the thought of the reverſe to be this. The ſtranded veſſel is the Commonwealth of *Rome*, that by the tyranny of *Domitian*, and the inſolence of the *Prætorian* Guards under *Nerva*, was quite run aground and in danger of periſhing. Some of thoſe embarked in it endeavour at her recovery, but it is *Trajan* that by the adoption of *Nerva* ſtems the tide to her relief, and like another *Neptune* ſhoves her off the quick-ſands. Your Device, ſays *Eugenius*, hangs very well together; but is not it liable to the ſame exceptions that you made us laſt night to ſuch explications as have nothing but the writers imagination to ſupport them? To ſhew you, ſays *Philander*, that the conſtruction I put on this Medal is conformable to the fancies of the old *Romans*, you may obſerve, that *Horace* repreſents at length the Commonwealth of *Rome* under the figure of a ſhip, in the Allegory that you meet with in the fourteenth Ode of his firſt book.

O Navis, referent in mare te novi
Fluctus. ————————

And ſhall the raging waves again
Bear thee back into the main? Mr. *Creech.*

Nor was any thing more uſual than to repreſent a God in the ſhape and dreſs of an Emperor.

————*Apelleæ cuperent te ſcribere ceræ,*
Optaſſetque novo ſimilem te ponere templo
Atticus Elei ſenior Jovis; et tua mitis
Ora Taras: tua ſidereas imitantia flammas
Lumina, contempto mallet Rhodos aſpera Phœbo.
Statius de Equo Domitiani. Sylv. 1.

Now had *Apelles* liv'd, he'd ſue to grace
His glowing Tablets with thy godlike face:
Phidias, a Sculptor for the Pow'rs above!
Had wiſh'd to place thee with his Iv'ry *Jove*.
Rhodes and *Tarentum*, with that Pride ſurvey,
The Thund'rer This, and That the God of day;
Each fam'd *Coloſſus* would exchange for Thee,
And own thy form the lovelieſt of the three.

For the thought in general, you have juſt the ſame metaphorical compliment to *Theodoſius* in *Claudian*, as the Medal here makes to *Trajan*.

Nulla relicta foret Romani nominis umbra,
Ni pater ille tuus jamjam ruitura ſubiſſet
Pondera, turbatamque ratem, certâque levaſſet
Naufragium commune manu. ——
Claudian. de 4to Conſ. Honorii.

Had

Had not thy Sire deferr'd th' impending fate,
And with his ſolid virtue prop'd the ſtate;
Sunk in Oblivion's ſhade, the name of *Rome*,
An empty name! had ſcarce ſurviv'd her doom:
Half-wreck'd ſhe was, 'till his auſpicious hand
Reſum'd the rudder, and regain'd the land.

I ſhall only add, that this Medal was ſtamped in honour of *Trajan*, when he was only *Cæſar*, as appears by the face of it.... SARI TRAIANO.

FIG. 22. The next is a reverſe of *Marcus Aurelius*. We have on it a *Minerva* mounted on a monſter, that *Auſonius* deſcribes in the following verſes.

Ille etiam Thalamos per trina ænigmata quærens
Qui bipes, et quadrupes foret, et tripes omnia ſolus;
Terruit Aoniam Volucris, Leo, Virgo; triformis
Sphinx, volucris pennis, pedibus fera, fronte puella.

To form the monſter *Sphinx*, a triple kind,
Man, bird, and beaſt, by nature were combin'd:
With feather'd fans ſhe wing'd th' aerial ſpace;
And on her feet the Lion-claws diſgrace
The bloomy features of a Virgin-face.
O'er pale *Aonia* panic horror ran,
While in myſterious ſpeech ſhe thus began:
" What animal, when yet the Morn is new,
" Walks on Four legs infirm; at Noon on Two:
" But day declining to the weſtern ſkies,
" He needs a Third; a Third the Night ſupplies?

The monſter, ſays *Cynthio*, is a Sphinx, but for her meaning on this Medal, I am not *OEdipus* enough to unriddle it. I muſt confeſs, ſays *Philander*,

lander, the Poets fail me in this particular. There is however a paſſage in *Pauſanias* that I will repeat to you, though it is in proſe, ſince I know no body elſe that has explained the Medal by it. The *Athenians*, ſays he, drew a Sphinx on the armour of *Pallas*, by reaſon of the ſtrength and ſagacity of this animal. The Sphinx therefore ſignifies the ſame as *Minerva* herſelf, who was the Goddeſs of arms as well as wiſdom, and deſcribes the Emperor, as one of the Poets expreſſes it.

———*Studiis florentem utriuſque Minervæ.*

Whom both *Minerva's* boaſt t'adopt their own.

The *Romans* joined both devices together, to make the emblem the more ſignificant, as indeed they could not too much extol the learning and military virtues of this excellent Emperor who was the beſt Philoſopher and greateſt General of his Age.

We will cloſe up this Series of Medals with one that was ſtamped under *Tiberius* to the memory of *Auguſtus*. Over his head you ſee the ſtar that his father *Julius Cæſar* was ſuppoſed to have been changed into. FIG. 23.

Ecce Dionæi proceſſit Cæſaris aſtrum.

Virg. Ecl. 9.

See, *Cæſar's* lamp is lighted in the ſkies.

Mr. *Dryden.*

———*micat*

——————*micat inter omnes*
Julium ſidus, velut inter ignes
Luna minores: Hor.

——*Julius Cæſar*'s light appears
As, in fair nights and ſmiling ſkies,
The beauteous *Moon* amidſt the meaner ſtars.
Mr. *Creech.*

Vix ea fatus erat, mediâ cùm ſede ſenatûs
Conſtitit alma Venus, nulli cernenda, ſuique
Cæſaris eripuit membris, nec in aëra ſolvi
Paſſa recentem animam, cœleſtibus intulit aſtris.
Dumque tulit lumen capere atque igneſcere ſenſit,
Emiſitque ſinu: Lunâ evolat altius illa,
Flammiferumque trahens ſpatioſo limite crinem,
Stella micat.—————— Ov. Met. Lib. 15.

This ſpoke; the Goddeſs to the Senate flew;
Where, her fair form conceal'd from mortal view,
Her *Cæſar*'s heav'nly part ſhe made her care,
Nor left the recent Soul to waſte to air;
But bore it upwards to its native ſkies:
Glowing with new-born fires ſhe ſaw it riſe;
Forth ſpringing from her boſom up it flew,
And kindling, as it ſoar'd, a Comet grew;
Above the lunar ſphere it took its flight,
And ſhot behind it a long trail of light.
Mr. *Welſted.*

Virgil-draws the ſame figure of *Auguſtus* on *Æneas*'s ſhield as we ſee on this Medal. The Commentators tell us, that the ſtar was engraven on *Auguſtus*'s helmet, but we may be ſure *Virgil* means ſuch a figure of the Emperor as he uſed to be repreſented by the *Roman* ſculpture, and ſuch

ſuch a one as we may ſuppoſe this to be that we have before us.

Hinc Auguſtus agens, Italos in prælia Cæſar,
Cum patribus, populoque, Penatibus, et magnis Diis,
Stans celſâ in puppi; geminas cui tempora flammas
Læta vomunt, patriumque aperitur vertice ſidus.
Virg. Æn. Lib. 8.

Young *Cæſar* on the ſtern in armour bright,
Here leads the *Romans*, and the Gods, to fight:
His beamy temples ſhoot their flames afar:
And o'er his head is hung the *Julian* ſtar.
Mr. *Dryden.*

The thunderbolt that lies by him is a mark of his Apotheoſis, that makes him as it were a companion of *Jupiter*. Thus the Poets of his own age that deified him living,

Diviſum Imperium cum Jove Cæſar habet. Virg.

Hic ſocium ſummo cum Jove numen habet. Ov.

——*regit Auguſtus ſocio per ſigna Tonante.*
Manil. Lib. 1.

Sed tibi debetur cœlum, te fulmine pollens,
Accipiet cupidi Regia magna Jovis.
Ov. de Auguſto ad Liviam.

He wears on his head the *Corona Radiata*, which at that time was another type of his Divinity. The ſpikes that ſhoot out from the crown were to repreſent the rays of the Sun. There were twelve of them, in alluſion to the Signs of the

the *Zodiac*. It is this kind of crown that *Virgil* deſcribes.

——————*ingenti mole Latinus*
Quadrijugo vehitur curru, cui tempora circum
Aurati bis ſex radii fulgentia cingunt,
Solis avi ſpecimen. —— Virg. Æn. Lib. 12.

Four ſteeds the chariot of *Latinus* bear:
Twelve golden beams around his temples play,
To mark his lineage from the God of day.
Mr. *Dryden.*

FIG. 24. If you would know why the *corona radiata* is a repreſentation of the Sun, you may ſee it in the figure of *Apollo* in the next reverſe, where his head is encompaſſed with ſuch an arch of glory as *Ovid* and *Statius* mention, that might be put on and taken off at pleaſure.

——*et genitor circum caput omne micantes*
Depoſuit radios—— Ovid. Met. Lib. 2.

The tender Sire was touch'd with what he ſaid,
And flung the blaze of glories from his head.

Impoſuitque comæ radios——— Ibid.

Then fix'd his beamy circle on his head.

——*licet ignipedum frænator equorum*
Ipſe tuis alte radiantem crinibus arcum
Imprimat— Stat. Theb. Lib. 1. ad Domitian.

Tho' *Phœbus* longs to mix his rays with thine,
And in thy glories more ſerenely ſhine.
Mr. *Pope.*

In

In his right hand he holds the whip with which he is ſuppoſed to drive the horſes of the Sun: as in a pretty paſſage of *Ovid*, that ſome of his editors muſt needs fancy ſpurious.

Colligit amentes, et adhuc terrore paventes,
Phœbus equos, ſtimuloque dolens et verbere ſævit:
Sævit enim, natumque objectat, et imputat illis.
Ov. Met. Lib. 2.

Prevail'd upon at length, again he took
The harmleſs ſteeds, that ſtill with horrour ſhook,
And plies 'em with the laſh, and whips 'em on,
And, as he whips, upbraids 'em with his ſon.

The double-pointed dart in his left hand is an emblem of his beams, that pierce through ſuch an infinite depth of air, and enter into the very bowels of the earth. Accordingly *Lucretius* calls them the darts of the day, as *Auſonius* to make a ſort of witticiſm has follow'd his example.

Non radii ſolis, neque lucida tela Diei. Lucr.

Exultant udæ ſuper arida ſaxa rapinæ,
Luciferique pavent letalia tela Diei.
de piſcibus captis. Auſ. Eid. 10.

Caligo terræ ſcinditur,
Percuſſa ſolis ſpiculo. Prud. Hym. 2.

I have now given you a ſample of ſuch emblematical Medals as are unriddled by the *Latin* Poets, and have ſhown ſeveral paſſages in the *Latin* Poets that receive an illuſtration from Medals. Some of the Coins we have had before

us have not been explained by others, as many of them have been explained in a different manner. There are indeed others, that have had very near the ſame explication put upon them, but as this explication has been ſupported by no authority, it can at beſt be looked upon but as a probable conjecture. It is certain, ſays *Eugenius*, there cannot be any more authentic illuſtrations of *Roman* Medals, eſpecially of thoſe that are full of fancy, than ſuch as are drawn out of the *Latin* Poets. For as there is a great affinity between Deſigning and Poetry, ſo the *Latin* Poets, and the Deſigners of the *Roman* Medals, lived very near one another, were acquainted with the ſame cuſtoms, converſant with the ſame objects, and bred up to the ſame reliſh for wit and fancy. But who are the Ladies that we are next to examine? Theſe are, ſays *Philander*, ſo many Cities, Nations and Provinces that preſent themſelves to you under the ſhape of women. What you take for a fine Lady at firſt ſight, when you come to look into her will prove a town, a country, or one of the four parts of the world. In ſhort, you have now *Afric*, *Spain*, *France*, *Italy*, and ſeveral other nations of the earth before you. This is one of the pleaſanteſt Maps, ſays *Cynthio*, that I ever ſaw. Your Geographers now and then fancy a country like a Leg or a Head, a Bear or a Dragon, but I never before ſaw them repreſented like women. I could not have thought your mountains, ſeas and promontories could have made up an aſſembly of ſuch well-ſhaped perſons. This therefore, ſays *Philander*, is a Geography particular to the Medalliſts. The Poets however have ſometimes given into it, and furniſh us with very good

good lights for the explication of it. The first Lady you see on the List is *Africa*, she carries an Elephant's tooth by her side.

Third Series. FIG. I.

Dentibus ex illis quos mittit porta Syenes,
Et Mauri celeres, et Mauro obscurior Indus:
Et quos depositit Nabathæo bellua saltu,
Jam nimios, capitique graves—— Juv. Sat. 11.

She is always quoift'd with the head of an Elephant, to show that this animal is the breed of that Country, as for the same reason she has a Dragon lying at her feet.

Huic varias pestes, diversaque membra ferarum,
Concessit bellis natura infesta futuris;
Horrendos angues, habitataque membra veneno,
Et mortis partus, viventia crimina terræ:
Et vastos Elephantes habet, sævosque Leones,
In pœnas fœcunda suas, parit horrida tellus.
Manil. Lib. 4. de Africâ.

Here Nature, angry with mankind, prepares
Strange monsters, instruments of future wars;
Here Snakes, those Cells of poison, take their birth,
Those living crimes and grievance of the earth;
Fruitful in its own plagues, the desert shore
Hears Elephants, and frightful Lions roar.
Mr. *Creech.*

Lucan in his description of the several noxious animals of this country, mentions in particular the flying Dragon that we see on this Medal.

Vas

Vos quoque, qui cunctis innoxia numina terris
Serpitis, aurato nitidi fulgore dracones,
Peſtiferos ardens facit Africa: ducitis altum
Aëra cum pennis, armentaque tota ſecuti
Rumpitis ingentes amplexi verbere tauros.
Nec tutus ſpatio eſt Elephas, datis omnia letho:
Nec vobis opus eſt ad noxia fata veneno.

Luc. Lib. 9.

And you, ye Dragons! of the ſcaly race,
Whom glittering gold and ſhining armours grace,
In other nations harmleſs are you found,
Their guardian Genii and Protectors own'd;
In *Afric* only are you fatal; there,
On wide-expanded wings, ſublime you rear
Your dreadful forms, and drive the yielding air.
The lowing Kine in droves you chace, and cull
Some maſter of the herd, ſome mighty Bull:
Around his ſtubborn ſides your tails you twiſt,
By force compreſs, and burſt his brawny cheſt.
Not Elephants are by their larger ſize
Secure, but with the reſt become your prize.
Reſiſtleſs in your Might, you all invade,
And for deſtruction need not poiſon's aid.

Mr. *Rowe.*

The Bull that appears on the other ſide of the Dragon, ſhows us that *Afric* abounds in agriculture.

———*tibi habe frumentum, Alledius inquit,*
O Libye; diſjunge boves, dum tubera mittas.

Juv. Sat. 5.

——No more plough up the ground,
O *Libya*, where ſuch muſhrooms can be found,
Alledius cries, but furniſh us with ſtore
Of muſhrooms, and import thy corn no more.

Mr. *Bowles.*

This

This part of the world has always on Medals something to denote her wonderful fruitfulness, as it was indeed the great granary of *Italy*. In the two following figures, the handful of wheat, the *Cornu-copiæ*, and basket of corn, are all emblems of the same signification.

Sed quâ se campis squalentibus Africa tendit,
Serpentum largo coquitur fœcunda veneno:
Felix quà pingues mitis plaga temperat agros;
Nec Cerere Ennæâ, Pharioque victa colono.
Sil. It. Lib. 1.

Frumenti quantum metit Africa———
Hor. Sat. 3. Lib. 2.

——*segetes mirantur Iberas*
Horrea; nec Libyæ senserunt damna rebellis
Jam transalpinâ contenti messe Quirites.
Claud. in Eutrop. Lib. 1.

The Lion on the second Medal marks her out for the FIG. 2.

——*Lemnum*
Arida nutrix. Hor.

The Scorpion on the third is another of her productions, as *Lucan* mentions it in particular, in the long catalogue of her venomous animals. FIG. 3.

——*quis fata putaret*
Scorpion, aut vires maturæ mortis habere?
Ille minax nodis, & recto verbere sævus,
Teste tulit cœlo victi decus Orionis. Luc. Lib. 9.

Who,

Who, that the Scorpion's inſect form ſurveys,
Would think that ready Death his call obeys?
Threat'ning he rears his knotty tail on high,
The vaſt *Orion* thus he doom'd to die,
And fix'd him, his proud trophy, in the ſky.
Mr. *Rowe.*

The three figures you have here ſhown us, ſays *Eugenius*, give me an idea of a deſcription or two in *Claudian*, that I muſt confeſs I did not before know what to make of. They repreſent *Africa* in the ſhape of a woman, and certainly allude to the corn and head-dreſs that ſhe wears on old Coins.

——*mediis apparet in aſtris*
Africa, reſciſſæ veſtes, et ſpicea paſſim
Serta jacent, lacero crinales vertice dentes,
Et fractum pendebat ebur— Claud. de Bel. Gild.

Next *Afric*, mounting to the bleſt Abodes,
Penſive approach'd the Synod of the Gods:
No arts of dreſs the weeping Dame adorn:
Her garments rent, and wheaten garlands torn:
The fillets, grac'd with teeth in Ivory rows,
Broke and diſorder'd dangle on her brows.

Tum ſpicis et dente comas illuſtris eburno,
Et calido rubicunda die, ſic Africa fatur.
Claud. de Conſ. Stil. Lib. 2.

I think, ſays *Philander*, there is no queſtion but the Poet has copied out in his deſcription the figure that *Africa* made in ancient ſculpture and painting. The next before us is FIG. 4. *Egypt.* Her baſket of wheat ſhows us the great fruitfulneſs of the country, which is cauſed by the inundations of the *Nile.* *Syrtilus*

Syrtibus hinc Libycis tuta eſt Ægyptus: at inde
Gurgite ſepteno rapidus mare ſummovet amnis:
Terra ſuis contenta bonis, non indiga mercis,
Aut Jovis; in ſolo tanta eſt fiducia Nilo.
Luc. Lib. 8.

By Nature ſtrengthned with a dang'rous ſtrand,
Her Syrts and untry'd channels guard the land.
Rich in the fatneſs of her plenteous ſoil,
She plants her only confidence in *Nile*.
Mr. *Rowe*.

The inſtrument in her hand is the *Siſtrum* of the *Ægyptians*, made uſe of in the worſhip of the Goddeſs *Iſis*.

——*Niloticа ſiſtris*
Ripa ſonat—— Claud. de 4*to* Conſ. Honor.

On Medals you ſee it in the hand of *Egypt*, of *Iſis*, or any of her Worſhippers. The Poets too make the ſame uſe of it, as *Virgil* has plac'd it in *Cleopatra*'s hand, to diſtinguiſh her from an *Egyptian*.

Regina in mediis patrio vocat agmina ſiſtro.
Virg. Æn. Lib. 8.

The Queen herſelf, amidſt the loud alarms,
With Cymbals toſs'd, her fainting ſoldiers warms.
Mr. *Dryden*.

——*reſtabant Actia bella,*
Atque ipſa Iſiaco certârunt fulmina ſiſtro.
Manil. Lib. 1.

——*imitataque Lunam*
Cornua fulſerunt, crepuitque ſonabile ſiſtrum.
de Iſide. Ov. Met. Lib. 9.

——The

——The lunar horns, that bind
The brows of *Isis*, cast a blaze around;
The trembling Timbrel made a murm'ring sound.
Mr. *Dryden.*

Quid tua nunc Isis tibi, Delia? quid mihi prosunt
Illa tuâ toties æra repulsa manu?
Tib. Lib. 1. El. 3.

Nos in templa tuam Romana accepimus Isin,
Semideosque canes, et sistra jubentia luctus.
Luc. Lib. 8.

Have we with honours dead *Osiris* crown'd,
And mourn'd him to the Timbrel's tinkling sound?
Receiv'd her *Isis* to divine abodes,
And rank'd her dogs deform'd, with *Roman* Gods?
Mr. *Rowe.*

The bird before her is the *Egyptian Ibis.* This figure however does not represent the living bird, but rather an idol of it, as one may guess by the pedestal it stands upon, for the *Egyptians* worshipped it as a God.

Quis nescit, Volusi Bithynice, qualia demens
Ægyptus portenta colat? crocodilon adorat
Pars hæc, illa pavet saturam serpentibus Ibin;
Effigies sacri nitet aurea Circopitheci. Juv. Sat. 15.

How *Egypt*, mad with superstition grown,
Makes Gods of monsters, but too well is known:
One sect devotion to *Nile*'s serpent pays;
Others to *Ibis*, that on serpents preys.
Where,

Where, *Thebes*, thy hundred gates lie unrepair'd,
And where maim'd *Memnon*'s magic harp is heard,
Where these are mould'ring left, the sots combine
With pious care a Monkey to inshrine.
Mr. *Tate*.

Venerem precaris? comprecare et Simiam.
Placet sacratus aspis Æsculapii?
Crocodilus, Ibis et Canes cur displicent?
Prudentius, Passio Romani.

We have *Mauritania* on the fifth Medal, leading a horse with something like a thread, for where there is a bridle in old Coins you see it much more distinctly. In her other hand she holds a switch. We have the design of this Medal in the following descriptions that celebrate the *Moors* and *Numidians*, inhabitants of *Mauritania*, for their horsemanship. FIG. 5.

Hic passim exultant Numidæ, gens inscia freni:
Quis inter geminas per ludum nobilis aures
Quadrupedum flectit non cedens virga lupatis:
Altrix bellorum bellatorumque virorum,
Tellus——— Sil. It. Lib. 1.

On his hot Steed, unus'd to curb or rein,
The black *Numidian* prances o'er the plain:
A wand betwixt his ears directs the course,
And as a Bridle turns th' obedient horse.

——*an Mauri fremitum raucosque repulsus*
Umbonum, et nostros passuri cominus enses?
Non contra clypeis tectos, galeisque micantes

Ibitis ; in ſolis longè fiducia telis.
Exarmatus erit, cum miſſile torſerit, hoſtis.
Dextra movet jaculum, prætentat pallia læva,
Cætera nudus Eques ; ſonipes ignarus habena :
Virga regit, non ulla fides, non agminis ordo ;
Arma oneri. ——— Claud. de Bel. Gildon.

Can *Moors* ſuſtain the preſs, in cloſe-fought fields,
Of ſhorten'd fauchions and repelling ſhields?
Againſt a hoſt of quiv'ring ſpears ye go,
Nor helm nor buckler guards the naked foe;
The naked foe, who vainly truſts his art,
And flings away his armour in his dart:
His dart the right hand ſhakes, the left uprears
His robe, beneath his tender ſkin appears.
Their Steeds un-rein'd, obey the horſeman's wand,
Nor know their legions when to march, or ſtand;
In the war's dreadful laws untaught and rude,
A mob of men, a martial multitude.

The Horſe too may ſtand as an emblem of the warlike genius of the people.

Bello armantur Equi, bellum hæc armenta minantur.
Virg. Æn. Lib. 3.

FIG. 6. From *Africa* we will croſs over into *Spain*. There are learned Medalliſts that tell us, the Rabbet which you ſee before her feet, may ſignify either the great multitude of theſe Animals that are found in *Spain*, or perhaps the ſeveral mines that are wrought within the bowels of that country, the *Latin* word *Cuniculus* ſignifying either a Rabbet or a Mine. But theſe Gentlemen do not conſider, that it is not the Word but the Figure that

that appears on the Medal. *Cuniculus* may ſtand for a Rabbet or a Mine, but the picture of a Rabbet is not the picture of a Mine. A pun can be no more engraven than it can be tranſlated. When the word is conſtrued into its idea the double meaning vaniſhes. The figure therefore before us means a real Rabbet, which is there found in vaſt multitudes.

Cuniculoſæ Celtiberiæ fili. Catul. in Egnatium.

The Olive-branch tells us, it is a country that abounds in Olives, as it is for this reaſon that *Claudian* in his deſcription of *Spain* binds an Olive-branch about her head.

——*glaucis tum prima Minervæ*
Nexa comam foliis, fulvâque intexta micantem
Veſte Tagum, tales profert Hiſpania voces.
Claud. de Laud. Stil. Lib. 2.

Thus *Spain*, whoſe brows the olive wreaths infold,
And o'er her robe a *Tagus* ſtreams in gold.

Martial has given us the like figure of one of the greateſt rivers in *Spain*.

Bætis oliviferâ crinem redimite coronâ,
Aurea qui nitidis vellera tingis aquis:
Quem Bromius quem Pallas amat——
Mart. Lib. 12. Ep. 99.

Fair *Bætis!* Olives wreath thy azure locks;
In fleecy gold thou cloth'ſt the neighb'ring flocks:

Thy fruitful banks with rival-bounty ſmile,
While *Bacchus* wine beſtows, and *Pallas* oil.

And *Prudentius* of one of its eminent towns.

Tu decem ſanctos revehes et octo,
Cæſar auguſta ſtudioſa Chriſti,
Verticem flavis oleis revincta
Pacis honore. Prudent. Hymn. 4.

FIG. 7. *France*, you ſee, has a Sheep by her, not only as a ſacrifice, but to ſhew that the riches of the country conſiſted chiefly in flocks and paſturage. Thus *Horace* mentioning the commodities of different countries.

Quanquam nec Calabræ mella ferunt apes,
Nec Læſtrigoniâ Bacchus in amphorâ
Langueſcit mihi, nec pinguia Gallicis
Creſcunt vellera paſcuis. Hor. Od. 16. Lib. 3.

Tho' no *Calabrian* Bees do give
Their grateful tribute to my hive;
No wines, by rich *Campania* ſent,
In my ignoble caſks ferment;
No flocks in *Gallic* plains grow fat;——
Mr. *Creech.*

She carries on her ſhoulders the *Sagulum* that *Virgil* ſpeaks of as the habit of the ancient *Gauls.*

Aurea cæſaries ollis, atque aurea veſtis:
Virgatis lucent ſagulis—— Virg. Æn. Lib. 8.

The

The gold diſſembled well their yellow hair;
And golden chains on their white necks they wear;
Gold are their veſts—— Mr. *Dryden.*

She is drawn in a poſture of ſacrificing for the ſafe arrival of the Emperor, as we may learn from the inſcription. We find in the ſeveral Medals that were ſtruck on *Adrian*'s progreſs through the Empire, that at his arrival they offered a ſacrifice to the Gods for the reception of ſo great a bleſſing. *Horace* mentions this cuſtom.

Tum meæ (ſi quid loquar audiendum)
Vocis accedet bona pars; et O Sol
Pulcher, ô laudande, canam, recepto
Cæſare felix.——

Te decem tauri, totidemque vaccæ;
Me tener ſolvet vitulus— Hor. Od. 2. Lib. 4.

And there, if any patient ear
My Muſe's feeble ſong will hear,
My voice ſhall ſound thro' *Rome:*
Thee, Sun, I'll ſing, thee, lovely fair,
Thee, thee I'll praiſe, when *Cæſar*'s come.—

Ten large fair bulls, ten luſty cows,
Muſt die, to pay thy richer vows;
Of my ſmall ſtock of kine
A calf juſt wean'd—— Mr. *Creech.*

Italy has a *Cornu-copiæ* in her hand, to denote her fruitfulneſs; FIG. 8.

——*magna parens frugum Saturnia tellus.*
Virg. Georg. 3.

and a crown of towers on her head to figure out the many towns and cities that ſtand upon her. *Lucan* has given her the like ornament, where he repreſents her addreſſing herſelf to *Julius Cæſar*.

Ingens viſa duci patriæ trepidantis Imago;
Clara per obſcuram vultu mœſtiſſima noctem,
Turrigero canos effundens vertice crines,
Cæſarie lacerâ, nudiſque adſtare lacertis,
Et gemitu permiſta loqui—— Lucan. Lib. 1.

Amidſt the duſky horrors of the night,
A wondrous viſion ſtood confeſt to ſight;
Her awful head *Rome*'s rev'rend image rear'd,
Trembling and ſad the Matron form appear'd;
A tow'ry crown her hoary temples bound,
And her torn treſſes rudely hung around:
Her naked arms uplifted ere ſhe ſpoke,
Then groaning thus the mournful ſilence broke.
Mr. *Rowe*.

She holds a ſcepter in her other hand, and ſits on a globe of the heavens, to ſhew that ſhe is the Sovereign of nations, and that all the influences of the Sun and Stars fall on her dominions. *Claudian* makes the ſame compliment to *Rome*.

Ipſa triumphatis quæ poſſidet æthera regnis.
Claud. in. Prob. et Olyb. Conſ.

Jupiter arce ſuâ totum dum ſpectat in orbem,
Nil niſi Romanum quod tueatur habet.
Ov. de Faſt. Lib. 1.

Jove finds no realm, when he the globe ſurveys,
But what to *Rome* ſubmiſſive homage pays.

Orbem

Orbem jam totum victor Romanus habebat,
Quà mare, quà tellus, quà sidus currit utrumque.
Petron.

Now *Rome*, sole Empress, reigns from pole to pole,
Where-ever earth extends, or oceans roll.

The picture that *Claudian* makes of *Rome* one would think was copied from the next Medal. FIG. 9.

——*innuptæ ritus imitata Minervæ:*
Nam neque cæsariem crinali stringere cultu,
Colla nec ornatu patitur mollire retorto:
Dextrum nuda latus, niveos exerta lacertos,
Audacem retegit mammam, laxumque coercens
Mordet gemma sinum.——
Clypeus Titana laceſſit
Lumine, quem totâ variarat Mulciber arte;
Hic, patrius Mavortis amor, fœtuſque notantur
Romulei, poſt amnis ineſt, et bellua nutrix.
Claud. in Prob. et Olyb. Conſ.

No coſtly fillets knot her hair behind,
Nor female trinkets round her neck are twin'd.
Bold on the right her naked arm ſhe ſhows,
And half the boſom's unpolluted ſnows,
Whilſt on the left is buckled o'er her breaſt,
In diamond claſps the military veſt.
The Sun was dazled as her ſhield ſhe rear'd,
Where, varied o'er by *Mulciber*, appear'd
The loves of *Mars* her Sire, fair *Ilia*'s joys,
The wolf, the *Tiber*, and the infant boys.

The next figure is *Achaia*. FIG. 10.

I am ſorry, ſays *Cynthio*, to find you running farther off us. I was in hopes you would have ſhown us our own nation, when you were ſo near us as *France*. I have here, ſays *Philander*, one of *Auguſtus*'s *Britannia's*. You ſee ſhe is not drawn like other countries, in a ſoft peaceful poſture, but is adorned with emblems that mark out the military genius of her inhabitants. This is, I think, the only commendable quality that the old Poets have touched upon in the deſcription of our country. I had once made a collection of all the paſſages in the *Latin* Poets, that give any account of us, but I find them ſo very malicious, that it would look like a libel on the nation to repeat them to you. We ſeldom meet with our fore-fathers, but they are coupled with ſome epithet or another to blacken them. Barbarous, Cruel and Inhoſpitable are the beſt terms they can afford us, which it would be a kind of injuſtice to publiſh, ſince their poſterity are become ſo polite, good-natured, and kind to ſtrangers. To mention therefore thoſe parts only that relate to the preſent Medal. She ſits on a globe that ſtands in water, to denote that ſhe is Miſtreſs of a new world, ſeparate from that which the *Romans* had before conquered, by the interpoſition of the ſea. I think we cannot doubt of this interpretation, if we conſider how ſhe has been repreſented by the ancient Poets.

FIG. 11.

Et penitus toto diviſos orbe Britannos. Virg. Ecl. 1.

The reſt among the *Britons* be confin'd;
A race of men from all the world disjoin'd.
Mr. *Dryden.*

Adſpice,

Adſpice, confundit populos impervia tellus:
Conjunctum eſt, quod adhuc orbis, et orbis erat.
Vet. Poet. apud Scalig. Catul.

At nunc oceanus geminos interluit orbes.
Id. de Britanniâ et oppoſito Continente.

——*noſtro diducta Britannia mundo.* Claud.

Nec ſtetit oceano, remiſque ingreſſa profundum,
Vincendos alio quæſivit in orbe Britannos. Id.

The feet of *Britannia* are waſhed by the waves, in the ſame Poet.

——*cujus veſtigia verrit*
Cærulus oceanique æſtum mentitur, amictus.
Id. de Laud. Stil. Lib. 2.

She bears a *Roman* Enſign in one of her hands, to confeſs herſelf a conquered province.

——*victricia Cæſar*
Signa Caledonios tranſvexit ad uſque Britannos.
Sidon. Apollin.

But to return to *Achaia*, whom we left upon her knees before the Emperor *Adrian*. She has a pot before her with a ſprig of Parſly riſing out of it. I will not here trouble you with a dull ſtory of *Hercules*'s eating a ſalad of Parſly for his refreſhment, after his encounter with the *Nemean* Lion. It is certain, there were in *Achaia* the *Nemean* Games, and that a garland of Parſly was the Victor's reward. You have an account of theſe Games in *Auſonius*. FIG. 10.

Quattuor antiquos celebravit Achaïa Ludos,
Cœlicolûm duo ſunt, et duo feſta hominum.
Sacra Jovis, Phœbique, Palæmonis, Archemoriques:
Serta quibus pinus, malus, oliva, apium.
Auſ. de Luſtral. Agon.

Greece, in four games thy martial youth were train'd;
For Heroes two, and two for Gods ordain'd:
Jove bade the Olive round his Victor wave;
Phœbus to his an Apple-garland gave;
The Pine, *Palæmon*; nor with leſs renown,
Archemorus confer'd the Parſly-crown.

Archemori Nemeæa colunt funebria Thebæ.
Id. de locis Agon.

——*Alcides Nemeæ ſacravit honorem.*
de Auct. Agon. Id.

One reaſon why they choſe Parſly for a Garland, was doubtleſs becauſe it always preſerves its verdure, as *Horace* oppoſes it to the ſhort-lived Lily.

Neu vivax apium, nec breve lilium. Lib. 1. Od. 36.

Let fading Lilies and the Roſe
Their beauty and their ſmell diſcloſe;
Let long-liv'd Parſly grace the feaſt,
And gently cool the heated gueſt. Mr. *Creech.*

Juvenal mentions the Crown that was made of it, and which here ſurrounds the head of *Achaia*.

——*Graiæque apium meruiſſe coronæ.* Juv. Sat. 8.

And winning at a Wake their Parſly crown.
Mr. *Stepney.*

She preſents herſelf to the Emperor in the ſame poſture that the *Germans* and *Engliſh* ſtill ſalute the Imperial and Royal family.

——*jus imperiumque Phraates*
Cæſaris accepit genibus minor.——
Hor. Epiſt. 12. Lib. 1.

The haughty *Parthian* now to *Cæſar* kneels.
Mr. *Creech.*

Ille qui donat diadema fronti
Quem genu nixæ tremuere gentes.
Senec. Thyeſt. Act. 3.

——*Non, ut inflexo genu,*
Regnantem adores, petimus. Id.

Te linguis variæ gentes, miſſique rogatum
Fœdera Perſarum proceres cum patre ſedentem,
Hac quondam vidêre domo; poſitâque tiarâ
Submiſere genu.—— Claud. ad Honorium.

Thy infant Virtue various climes admir'd,
And various tongues to ſound thy praiſe conſpir'd:
Thee next the Sovereign ſeat, the *Perſians* view'd,
When in this Regal Dome for peace they ſu'd:
Each Turban low, in ſign of worſhip, wav'd;
And every knee confeſt the boon they crav'd.

Sicily appears before *Adrian* in the ſame poſture. She has a bundle of Corn in her hand, and a Garland of it on her head, FIG. 12.

head, as ſhe abounds in wheat and was conſecrated to *Ceres*.

Utraque frugiferis eſt Inſula nobilis arvis:
Nec plus Heſperiam longinquis meſſibus ullæ,
Nec Romana magis complerunt horrea terræ.
de Sicilia et Sardinia. Luc. Lib. 2.

Sardinia too, renown'd for yellow fields,
With *Scicily* her bounteous tribute yields;
No lands a glebe of richer tillage boaſt,
Nor waft more plenty to the *Roman* coaſt.
Mr. *Rowe*.

Terra tribus ſcopulis vaſtum procurrit in æquor
Trinacris, à poſitu nomen adepta loci.
Grata domus Cereri; multas ibi poſſidet urbes;
In quibus eſt culto fertilis Henna ſolo.
Ov. de Faſt. Lib. 4.

To *Ceres* dear, the fruitful land is fam'd
For three tall Capes, and thence *Trinacria* nam'd:
There *Henna* well rewards the tiller's toil,
The faireſt Champain of the faireſt Iſle.

FIG. 13. We find *Judæa* on ſeveral coins of *Veſpaſian* and *Titus*, in a poſture that denotes ſorrow and captivity. The firſt figure of her is drawn to the life, in a picture that *Seneca* has given us of the *Trojan* matrons bewailing their captivity.

——*paret exertos*
Turba lacertos. Veſte remiſſâ
Subſtringe ſinus, uteroque tenus
Pateant artus——

——*cadat*

——*cadat ex humeris*
Veſtis apertis : imumque tegat
Suffulta latus. jam nuda vocant
Pectora dextras. nunc nunc vires
Exprome, Dolor, tuas.
Hecuba ad Trojan. chor. Sen. Troas. Act. 1.

——————————Bare
Your arms, your veſtures ſlackly ty'd
Beneath your naked boſoms, ſlide
Down to your waſtes———
——————————Let
From your diveſted ſhoulders ſlide
Your garments, down on either ſide.
Now bared boſoms call for blows,
Now, ſorrow, all thy pow'rs diſcloſe.
Sir Ed. Sherburn.

———*apertæ pectora matres*
Significant luctum—— Ov. Met. Lib. 13.

Who bar'd their breaſts, and gave their hair to flow :
The ſigns of grief, and mark of public woe.

The head is veiled in both figures, as another expreſſion of grief.

——*ipſa triſti veſtis obtentu caput*
Velata, juxta præſides aſtat Deos.
Sen. Herc. fur. Act. 2.

Sic ubi fata, caput ferali obducit amictu,
Decrevitque pati tenebras, puppiſque cavernis
Delituit : ſævumque arctè complexa dolorem
Perfruitur lacrymis, et amat pro conjuge luctum.
Luc. Lib. 9. de Cornelia.

So

So ſaid the Matron; and about her head
Her veil ſhe draws, her mournful eyes to ſhade:
Reſolv'd to ſhroud in thickeſt ſhades her woe,
She ſeeks the ſhip's deep darkſom Hold below:
There lonely left, at leiſure to complain,
She hugs her ſorrows, and enjoys her pain;
Still with freſh tears the living grief would feed,
And fondly loves it, in her huſband's ſtead.

Mr. *Rowe.*

I need not mention her ſitting on the ground, becauſe we have already ſpoken of the aptneſs of ſuch a poſture to repreſent an extreme affliction. I fancy, ſays *Eugenius*, the *Romans* might have an eye on the cuſtoms of the *Jewiſh* nation, as well as of thoſe of their country, in the ſeveral marks of ſorrow they have ſet on this figure. The Pſalmiſt deſcribes the *Jews* lamenting their captivity in the ſame penſive poſture. *By the waters of* Babylon *we ſat down and wept, when we remembred thee, O* Sion. But what is more remarkable, we find *Judæa* repreſented as a woman in ſorrow ſitting on the ground, in a paſſage of the Prophet that foretels the very captivity recorded on this Medal. The covering of the head, and the rending of garments, we find very often in Holy Scripture, as the expreſſions of a raging grief. But what is the tree we ſee on both theſe Medals? We find, ſays *Philander*, not only on theſe, but on ſeveral other coins that relate to *Judæa*, the figure of a Palm-tree, to ſhow us that Palms are the growth of the country. Thus *Silius Italicus*, ſpeaking of *Veſpaſian*'s conqueſt, that is the ſubject of this Medal.

Palmi-

Palmiferamque ſenex bello domitabit Idumen.
Sil. It. Lib. 3.

Martial ſeems to have hinted at the many pieces of painting and ſculpture that were occaſioned by this conqueſt of *Judæa*, and had generally ſomething of the Palm-tree in them. It begins an Epigram on the death of *Scorpus* a chariot-driver, which in thoſe degenerate times of the Empire was looked upon as a public calamity.

Triſtis Idumæas frangat Victoria palmas;
Plange Favor ſæva pectora nuda manu.
Mart. Lib. 10. Epig. 50.

The man by the Palm-tree in the firſt of theſe Medals, is ſuppoſed to be a *Jew* with his hands bound behind him.

I need not tell you that the winged figure on the other Medal is *Victory*. She is repreſented here as on many other coins, writing ſomething on a ſhield. We find this way of regiſtring a *Victory* touched upon in *Virgil*, and *Silius Italicus*. FIG. 14.

Ære cavo clypeum, magni geſtamen Abantis,
Poſtibus adverſis figo, et rem carmine ſigno;
Æneas hæc de Danais victoribus arma.
Virg. Æn. Lib. 3.

I fix'd upon the Temple's lofty door
The brazen ſhield, which vanquiſh'd *Abas* bore:
The verſe beneath my name and actions ſpeaks,
" Theſe arms *Æneas* took from conqu'ring *Greeks*.
Mr. *Dryden*.
Pyrenes.

Pyrenes tumulo clypeum cum carmine figunt;
Haſdrubalis ſpolium Gradivo Scipio victor.
Sil. Ital. Lib. 15.

High on *Pyrene*'s airy top they plac'd
The captive Shield, with this inſcription grac'd:
" Sacred to *Mars*, theſe votive ſpoils proclaim
" The fate of *Aſdrubal*, and *Scipio*'s fame.

FIG. 15. *Parthia* has on one ſide of her the Bow and Quiver which are ſo much talked of by the Poets. *Lucan*'s account of the *Parthians* is very pretty and poetical.

——*Parthoque ſequente*
Murus erit, quodcumque poteſt obſtare ſagittæ——
Illita tela dolis, nec Martem cominus unquam
Auſa pati virtus, ſed longè tendere nervos,
Et, quo ferre velint, permittere vulnera ventis.
Luc. Lib. 8.

Each fence, that can their winged ſhafts endure,
Stands, like a fort, impregnable, ſecure——
To taint their coward darts is all their care,
And then to truſt them to the flitting air.
Mr. *Rowe.*

——*Sagittiferoſque Parthos.* Catul.

The crown ſhe holds in her hand, refers to the crown of gold that *Parthia*, as well as other provinces, preſented to the Emperor *Antonine*. The preſenting a Crown, was the giving up the ſovereignty into his hands.

Ipſe oratores ad me, regnique coronam,
Cum ſceptro miſit—— Virg. Æn. Lib. 8.

Tarchon,

Tarchon, the *Tuscan* Chief, to me has sent
Their Crown, and every regal ornament.
Mr. *Dryden.*

Antioch has an Anchor by her, in memory of her founder *Seleucus*, whose race was all born with this mark upon them, if you'll believe Historians. *Ausonius* has taken notice of it in his verses on this city. FIG. 15.

———*Illa Seleucum*
Nuncupat ingenuum, cujus fuit Anchora signum.
Qualis inusta solet; generis nota certa, per omnem
Nam sobolis seriem nativa cucurrit imago.
Auf. Ordo Nobil. Urbium.

Thee, great *Seleucus*, bright in *Grecian* fame!
The tow'rs of *Antioch* for their founder claim:
Thee *Phœbus* at thy birth his son confest,
By the fair Anchor on the babe impreſt;
Which all thy genuine offspring wont to grace,
From thigh to thigh transmissive thro' the race.

Smyrna is always represented by an *Amazon*, that is said to have been her first foundress. You see her here entring into a league with *Thyatira*. Each of them holds her tutelar Deity in her hand. FIG. 17.

Jus ille, et icti fœderis testes Deos
Invocat.——— Sen. Phœnissæ. Act. 1.

On the left arm of *Smyrna*, is the *Pelta* or Buckler of the *Amazons*, as the long weapon by her is the *Bipennis* or *Securis*.

Non

Non tibi Amazonia eſt pro me ſumenda ſecuris,
Aut exciſa levi pelta gerenda manu.
Ov. Lib. 3. Epiſt. 1. ex Pont.

Lunatis agmina peltis. Virg.

In their right hands a pointed Dart they wield;
The left, for ward, ſuſtains the lunar Shield.
Mr. *Dryden.*

Videre Rhæti bella ſub Alpibus
Druſum gerentem, et Vindelici; quibus
Mos unde deductus per omne
Tempus Amazonia ſecuri
Dextras obarmet quærere diſtuli. Hor. Od. 4. L. 4.

Such *Druſus* did in arms appear,
When near the *Alps* he urg'd the war:
In vain the *Rhæti* did their axes wield,
Like *Amazons* they fought, like women fled the field:
But why thoſe ſavage troops this weapon chooſe,
Confirm'd by long eſtabliſh'd uſe,
Hiſtorians would in vain diſcloſe.

FIG. 18. The dreſs that *Arabia* appears in brings to my mind the deſcription *Lucan* has made of theſe eaſtern nations.

Quicquid ad Eoos tractus, mundique teporem
Labitur, emollit gentes clementia cœli.
Illic et laxas veſtes, et fluxa virorum
Velamenta vides.——— Luc. Lib. 8.

While *Aſia*'s ſofter climate, form'd to pleaſe,
Diſſolves her ſons in indolence and eaſe.

Here

Here ſilken robes inveſt unmanly limbs,
And in long trains the flowing Purple ſtreams.
Mr. *Rowe.*

She bears in one hand a ſprig of frankincenſe.

——*ſolis eſt thurea virga Sabeis.* Virg.

And od'rous frankincenſe on the *Sabæan* bough.
Mr. *Dryden.*

Thuriferos Arabum ſaltus. Claud. de 3. Conſ. Hon.

Thurilegos Arabas.——— Ov. de Faſt. Lib. 4.

In the other hand you ſee the perfumed reed, as the garland on her head may be ſuppoſed to be woven out of ſome other part of her fragrant productions.

Nec procul in molles Arabas terramque ferentem
Delicias, variæque novos radicis honores;
Leniter adfundit gemmantia littora pontus,
Et terræ mare nomen habet.——
de ſinu Arabico Manil. Lib. 4.

More weſt the other ſoft *Arabia* beats,
Where incenſe grows, and pleaſing odour ſweats;
The Bay is call'd th' *Arabian* gulf; the name
The country gives it, and 'tis great in fame.
Mr. *Creech.*

Urantur pia thura focis, urantur odores,
Quos tener à terrâ divite mittit Arabs.
Tibul. Lib. 2. El. 2.

——*ſit*

——*ſit dives amomo*
Cinnamaque, coſtumque ſuam, ſudataque ligno
Thura ferat, floreſque alios Panchaïa tellus;
Dum ferat et Myrrham. Ov. Met. Lib. 10.

Let *Araby* extol our happy coaſt,
Her Cinnamon, and ſweet *Amomum* boaſt;
Her fragant flowers, her trees with precious tears,
Her ſecond harveſts, and her double years:
How can the land be call'd ſo bleſs'd, that *Myrrha* bears? Mr. *Dryden.*

——*Odoratæ ſpirant medicamina Silvæ.* Manil.

The trees drop balſam, and on all the boughs
Health ſits, and makes it ſovereign as it flows.
Mr. *Creech.*

Cinnami ſylvas Arabes beatos
Vidit—— Sen. Oedip. Act. 1.

What a delicious country is this, ſays *Cynthio?* a man almoſt ſmells it in the deſcriptions that are made of it. The Camel is in *Arabia*, I ſuppoſe, a beaſt of burden, that helps to carry off its ſpices. We find the Camel, ſays *Philander*, mentioned in *Perſius* on the ſame account.

Tolle recens primus piper è ſitiente Camelo.
Perſ. Sat. 5.

——The precious weight
Of pepper and *Sabæan* incenſe, take
With thy own hands from the tir'd Camel's back.
Mr. *Dryden.*

He

He loads the Camel with pepper, becauſe the animal and its cargo are both the productions of the ſame country.

Mercibus hic Italis mutat ſub ſole recenti
Rugoſum piper——— Id. Sat. 5.

The greedy Merchants, led by lucre, run
To the parch'd *Indies* and the riſing Sun;
From thence hot pepper, and rich drugs they bear,
Bart'ring for ſpices their *Italian* ware.
Mr. *Dryden.*

You have given us ſome quotations out of *Perſius* this morning, ſays *Eugenius*, that in my opinion have a great deal of poetry in them. I have often wondered at Mr. *Dryden* for paſſing ſo ſevere a cenſure on this Author. He fancies the deſcription of a Wreck that you have already cited, is too good for *Perſius*, and that he might be helpt in it by *Lucan*, who was one of his contemporaries. For my part, ſays *Cynthio*, I am ſo far from Mr. *Dryden*'s opinion in this particular, that I fancy *Perſius* a better Poet than *Lucan:* and that had he been engaged on the ſame ſubject, he would at leaſt in his Expreſſions and Deſcriptions have out-writ the *Pharſalia.* He was indeed employed on ſubjects that ſeldom led him into any thing like Deſcription, but where he has an occaſion of ſhewing himſelf, we find very few of the *Latin* Poets that have given a greater beauty to their Expreſſions. His obſcurities are indeed ſometimes affected, but they generally ariſe from the remoteneſs of the Cuſtoms, Perſons and Things he alludes to: as Satire is for this reaſon more difficult to be underſtood

derſtood by thoſe that are not of the ſame age with it, than any other kind of Poetry. Love-verſes and Heroics deal in Images that are ever fixed and ſettled in the nature of things, but a thouſand ideas enter into Satire, that are as changeable and unſteady as the mode or the humours of mankind.

Our three friends had paſſed away the whole morning among their Medals and *Latin* Poets. *Philander* told them it was now too late to enter on another Series, but if they would take up with ſuch a dinner as he could meet with at his Lodgings, he would afterwards lay the reſt of his Medals before them. *Cynthio* and *Eugenius* were both of them ſo well pleaſed with the novelty of the ſubject, that they would not refuſe the offer *Philander* made them.

DIALOGUE III.

———*cauſa eſt diſcriminis hujus*
Conciſum Argentum in titulos facieſque minutas.
Juv. Sat. 14.

A PARALLEL between the Ancient and Modern MEDALS.

PHILANDER uſed every morning to take a walk in a neighbouring wood, that ſtood on the borders of the *Thames*. It was cut through by abundance of beautiful allies, which terminating on the water, looked like ſo many painted views in perſpective. The banks of the river and the thickneſs of the ſhades drew into them all the birds of the country, that at Sun-riſing filled the wood with ſuch a variety of notes, as made the prettieſt confuſion imaginable. I know in deſcriptions of this nature the ſcenes are generally ſuppoſed to grow out of the Author's imagination, and if they are not charming in all their parts, the Reader never imputes it to the want of ſun or ſoil, but to the writer's barrenneſs of invention. It is *Cicero*'s obſervation on the Plane-tree, that makes ſo flouriſhing a figure in one of *Plato*'s Dialogues, that it did not draw its nouriſhment from the fountain that ran by

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it and watered its roots, but from the richneſs of the ſtile that deſcribes it. For my own part, as I deſign only to fix the ſcene of the following Dialogue, I ſhall not endeavour to give it any other ornaments than thoſe which nature has beſtowed upon it.

Philander was here enjoying the cool of the morning, among the dews that lay on every thing about him, and that gave the air ſuch a freſhneſs as is not a little agreeable in the hot part of the year. He had not been here long before he was joined by *Cynthio* and *Eugenius*. *Cynthio* immediately fell upon *Philander* for breaking his night's reſt. You have ſo filled my head, ſays he, with old Coins, that I have had nothing but figures and inſcriptions before my eyes. If I chanced to fall into a little ſlumber, it was immediately interrupted with the viſion of a *Caduceus* or a *Cornu copiæ*. You will make me believe, ſays *Philander*, that you begin to be reconciled to Medals. They ſay it is a ſure ſign a man loves money, when he is uſed to find it in his dreams. There is certainly, ſays *Eugenius*, ſomething like Avarice in the ſtudy of Medals. The more a man knows of them, the more he deſires to know. There is one ſubject in particular that *Cynthio*, as well as myſelf, has a mind to engage you in. We would fain know how the Ancient and Modern Medals differ from one another, and which of them deſerve the preference. You have a mind to engage me in a ſubject, ſays *Philander*, that is perhaps of a larger extent than you imagine. To examine it thoroughly, it would be neceſſary to take them in pieces, and to ſpeak of the difference that ſhews itſelf in their Metals, in the Occaſion

Occaſion of ſtamping them, in the Inſcriptions, and in the Figures that adorn them. Since you have divided your ſubject, ſays *Cynthio*, be ſo kind as to enter on it without any further preface.

We ſhould firſt of all, ſays *Philander*, conſider the difference of the Metals that we find in ancient and modern Coins, but as this ſpeculation is more curious than improving, I believe you will excuſe me if I do not dwell long upon it. One may underſtand all the learned part of this ſcience, without knowing whether there were Coins of iron or lead among the old *Romans*, and if a man is well acquainted with the Device of a Medal, I do not ſee what neceſſity there is of being able to tell whether the Medal itſelf be of copper or *Corinthian* braſs. There is however ſo great a difference between the antique and modern Medals, that I have ſeen an Antiquary lick an old Coin, among other trials, to diſtinguiſh the age of it by its Taſte. I remember when I laught at him for it, he told me with a great deal of vehemence, there was as much difference between the reliſh of ancient and modern braſs, as between an apple and a turnip. It is pity, ſays *Eugenius*, but they found out the Smell too of an ancient Medal. They would then be able to judge of it by all the ſenſes. The Touch, I have heard, gives almoſt as good evidence as the Sight, and the Ringing of a Medal is, I know, a very common experiment. But I ſuppoſe this laſt proof you mention relates only to ſuch Coins as are made of your baſer ſorts of metal. And here, ſays *Philander*, we may obſerve the prudence of the Ancients above that of the Moderns, in the care they took to perpetuate

the memory of great actions. They knew very well that ſilver and gold might fall into the hands of the covetous or ignorant, who would not reſpect them for the Device they bore, but for the Metal they were made of. Nor were their apprehenſions ill-founded; for it is not eaſily imagined how many of theſe noble monuments of hiſtory have periſhed in the goldſmiths hands, before they came to be collected together by the learned men of theſe two or three laſt Centuries. Inſcriptions, Victories, Buildings, and a thouſand other pieces of antiquity were melted down in thoſe barbarous Ages, that thought figures and letters only ſerved to ſpoil the gold that was charged with them. Your Medalliſts look on this deſtruction of Coins, as on the burning of the *Alexandrian* Library, and would be content to compound for them, with almoſt the loſs of a *Vatican*. To prevent this in ſome meaſure, the ancients placed the greateſt variety of their devices on their braſs and copper Coins, which are in no fear of falling into the clippers hands, nor in any danger of melting till the general conflagration. On the contrary, our modern Medals are moſt in ſilver and gold, and often in a very ſmall number of each. I have ſeen a golden one at *Vienna*, of *Philip* the ſecond, that weighed two and twenty pound, which is probably ſingular in its kind, and will not be able to keep itſelf long out of the furnace when it leaves the Emperor's Treaſury. I remember another in the King of *Pruſſia*'s collection, that has in it three pound weight of gold. The Princes who ſtruck theſe Medals, ſays *Eugenius*, ſeem to have deſigned them rather as an oſtentation of their Wealth, than of their Virtues. They fancied

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probably, it was a greater honour to appear in gold than in copper, and that a Medal receives all its value from the rarity of the metal. I think the next ſubject you propoſed to ſpeak of, were the different Occaſions that have given birth to ancient and modern Medals.

Before we enter on this particular, ſays *Philander*, I muſt tell you by way of preliminary, that formerly there was no difference between Money and Medals. An old *Roman* had his purſe full of the ſame pieces that we now preſerve in Cabinets. As ſoon as an Emperor had done any thing remarkable, it was immediately ſtamped on a Coin, and became current through his whole Dominions. It was a pretty contrivance, ſays *Cynthio*, to ſpread abroad the virtues of an Emperor, and make his actions circulate. A freſh Coin was a kind of a *Gazette*, that publiſhed the lateſt news of the Empire. I ſhould fancy your *Roman* Bankers were very good Hiſtorians. It is certain, ſays *Eugenius*, they might find their profit and inſtruction mixed together. I have often wondered that no nation among the moderns has imitated the ancient *Romans* in this particular. I know no other way of ſecuring theſe kinds of monuments, and making them numerous enough to be handed down to future ages. But where Stateſmen are ruled by a ſpirit of faction and intereſt, they can have no paſſion for the glory of their country, nor any concern for the figure it will make among poſterity. A man that talks of his nation's honour a thouſand years hence, is in very great danger of being laught at. We ſhall think, ſays *Cynthio*, you have a mind to fall out with the Government, becauſe it does not encourage Medals. But

were all your ancient Coins that are now in Cabinets once current money? It is the moſt probable opinion, ſays *Philander*, that they were all of them ſuch, excepting thoſe we call Medalions. Theſe in reſpect to the other Coins were the ſame as modern Medals, in reſpect of modern money. They were exempted from all commerce, and had no other value but what was ſet upon them by the fancy of the owner. They are ſuppoſed to have been ſtruck by Emperors for preſents to their Friends, foreign Princes, or Ambaſſadors. However, that the ſmallneſs of their number might not endanger the loſs of the devices they bore, the *Romans* took care generally to ſtamp the ſubject of their Medalions on their ordinary Coins that were the running caſh of the nation. As if in *England* we ſhould ſee on our half-peny and farthing pieces, the ſeveral deſigns that ſhow themſelves in their perfection on our Medals.

If we now conſider, continued *Philander*, the different Occaſions or Subjects of ancient and modern Medals, we ſhall find they both agree in recording the great actions and ſucceſſes in war, allowing ſtill for the different ways of making it, and the circumſtances that attended it in paſt ages, and in the preſent. I ſhall inſtance one. I do not remember in any old Coin to have ſeen the taking of a town mentioned: as indeed there were few conquerors could ſignalize themſelves that way before the invention of powder and fortifications, a ſingle battle often deciding the fate of whole kingdoms. Our modern Medals give us ſeveral ſieges and plans of fortified towns, that ſhow themſelves in all their

their parts to a great advantage on the reverſe of a Coin. It is indeed a kind of Juſtice, ſays *Eugenius*, that a Prince owes to poſterity, after he has ruined or defaced a ſtrong place to deliver down to them a model of it as it ſtood whole and intire. The Coin repairs in ſome meaſure the miſchiefs of his Bombs and Cannons. In the next place, ſays *Philander*, we ſee both on the ancient and modern Medals the ſeveral noble pieces of Architecture that were finiſhed at the time when the Medals were ſtamped. I muſt obſerve however, to the honour of the latter, that they have repreſented their buildings according to the rules of perſpective. This I remember to have ſeen but in very few of the plans on ancient Coins, which makes them appear much leſs beautiful than the modern, eſpecially to a mathematical eye. Thus far our two ſets of Medals agree as to their Subject. But old Coins go farther in their compliments to their Emperor, as they take occaſion to celebrate his diſtinguiſhing Virtues; not as they ſhowed themſelves in any particular Action, but as they ſhone out in the general view of his character. This humour went ſo far, that we ſee *Nero*'s fidling, and *Commodus*'s ſkill in fencing, on ſeveral of their Medals. At preſent, you never meet with the King of *France*'s generoſity, nor the Emperor's devotion recorded after this manner. Again, the *Romans* uſed to regiſter the great actions of Peace that turned to the good of the people, as well as thoſe of War. The remiſſion of a Debt, the taking off a Duty, the giving up a Tax, the mending a Port, or the making a Highway, were not looked upon as improper

subjects for a Coin. They were glad of any opportunity to encourage their Emperors in the humour of doing good, and knew very well, that many of these acts of beneficence had a wider and more lasting influence on the happiness and welfare of a people, than the gaining a Victory, or the Conquest of a nation. In *England* perhaps it would have looked a little odd to have stamped a Medal on the abolishing of Chimney-money in the last Reign, or on the giving a hundred thousand pound a year towards the carrying on a war, in this. I find, says *Eugenius*, had we struck in with the practice of the ancient *Romans*, we shou'd have had Medals on the fitting up our several Docks, on the making of our Rivers navigable, on the building our men of War, and the like subjects, that have certainly very well deserved them. The reason why it has been neglected, says *Philander*, may possibly be this. Our Princes have the coining of their own Medals, and perhaps may think it would look like vanity to erect so many Trophies and Monuments of praise to their own merit; whereas among the ancient *Romans*, the Senate had still a watchful eye on their Emperor, and if they found any thing in his life and actions that might furnish out a Medal, they did not fail of making him so acceptable an offering. 'Tis true, their flatteries betray often such a baseness of spirit, as one would little expect to find among such an order of men. And here by the way we may observe, that you never find any thing like Satire or Rallery on old Coins.

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Whatever Victories were got on foreign enemies, or the several pretenders to the Empire obtained over one another, they are recorded on Coins without the least bitterness or reflexion. The Emperors often jested on their rivals or predecessors, but their Mints still maintained their gravity. They might publish invectives against one another in their discourses or writings but never on their Coins. Had we no other histories of the *Roman* Emperors, but those we find on their money, we should take them for the most virtuous race of Princes that mankind were ever blessed with: whereas, if we look into their lives, they appear many of them such monsters of lust and cruelty, as are almost a reproach to human nature. Medals are therefore so many compliments to an Emperor, that ascribe to him all the Virtues and Victories he himself pretended to. Were you to take from hence all your informations, you would fancy *Claudius* as great a Conqueror as *Julius Cæsar*, and *Domitian* a wiser Prince than his brother *Titus*. *Tiberius* on his Coins is all Mercy and Moderation, *Caligula* and *Nero* are Fathers of their Country, *Galba* the patron of public Liberty, and *Vitellius* the restorer of the city of *Rome*. In short, if you have a mind to see the religious *Commodus*, the pious *Caracalla*, and the devout *Heliogabalus*, you may find them either in the inscription or device of their Medals. On the contrary, those of a modern make are often charged with Irony and Satire. Our Kings no sooner fall out, but their mints make war upon one another, and their malice appears on their Medals. One meets sometimes with very nice touches of Rallery, but as we have no instance

of it among the ancient Coins, I ſhall leave you to determine, whether or no it ought to find a place there. I muſt confeſs, ſays *Cynthio*, I believe we are generally in the wrong, when we deviate from the ancients: becauſe their practice is for the moſt part grounded upon reaſon. But if our foreſathers have thought fit to be grave and ſerious, I hope their poſterity may laugh without offence. For my part, I cannot but look on this kind of Rallery as a Refinement on Medals: and do not ſee why there may not be ſome for diverſion, at the ſame time that there are others of a more ſolemn and majeſtic nature, as a Victory may be celebrated in an Epigram as well as in an Heroic Poem. Had the ancients given place to Rallery on any of their Coins, I queſtion not but they would have been the moſt valued parts of a collection. Beſides the entertainment we ſhould have found in them they would have ſhown us the different ſtate of Wit, as it flouriſhed or decayed in the ſeveral ages of the *Roman* Empire. There is no doubt, ſays *Philander*, but our foreſathers, if they had pleaſed, could have been as witty as their poſterity. But I am of opinion, they induſtriouſly avoided it on their Coins, that they might not give us occaſion to ſuſpect their ſincerity. Had they run into mirth or ſatire we ſhould not have thought they had deſigned ſo much to inſtruct as to divert us. I have heard, ſays *Eugenius*, that the *Romans* ſtamped ſeveral Coins on the ſame occaſion. If we follow their example, there will be no danger of deceiving poſterity: ſince the more ſerious ſort of Medals may ſerve as Comments on thoſe of a lighter character. However it is,

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the rallery of the Moderns cannot be worſe than the flattery of the Ancients. But hitherto you have only mentioned ſuch Coins as were made on the Emperor, I have ſeen ſeveral of our own time that have been made as a compliment to private perſons. There are pieces of money, ſays *Philander*, that during the time of the *Roman* Emperors, were coined in honour of the Senate, Army or People. I do not remember to have ſeen in the upper Empire the face of any private perſon that was not ſome way related to the Imperial family. *Sejanus* has indeed his Conſulſhip mentioned on a Coin of *Tiberius*, as he has the honour to give a name to the year in which our Saviour was crucified. We are now come to the Legend or Inſcription of our Medals, which as it is one of the more eſſential parts of them, it may deſerve to be examined more at length. You have choſen a very ſhort Text to enlarge upon, ſays *Cynthio:* I ſhould as ſoon expect to ſee a Critic on the Poſy of a Ring, as on the Inſcription of a Medal.

I have ſeen ſeveral modern Coins, ſays *Philander*, that have had part of the Legend running round the edges, like the *Decus et Tutamen* in our milled money; ſo that a few years will probably wear out the action that the Coin was deſigned to perpetuate. The ancients were too wiſe to regiſter their exploits on ſo nice a ſurface. I ſhould fancy, ſays *Eugenius*, the moderns may have choſen this part of the Model for the inſcription, that the figures on each ſide might appear to a greater advantage. I have obſerved in ſeveral old Coins a kind of confuſion between the legend and the device. The figures and letters were ſo mingled together,

that one would think the Coiner was hard put to it on what part of the money to beſtow the ſeveral words of his inſcription. You have found out ſomething like an excuſe, ſays *Philander*, for your milled Medals, if they carried the whole legend on their edges. But at the ſame time that they are lettered on the edges, they have other inſcriptions on the face and the reverſe. Your modern Deſigners cannot contract the occaſion of the Medal into an inſcription that is proper to the Volume they write upon: ſo that having ſcribbled over both ſides, they are forced, as it were, to write upon the margin. The firſt fault therefore that I ſhall find with a modern legend, is its Diffuſiveneſs. You have ſometimes the whole ſide of a Medal over-run with it. One would fancy the Author had a deſign of being *Ciceronian* in his *Latin*, and of making a round period. I will give you only the reverſe of a Coin ſtampt by the preſent Emperor of *Germany*, on the raiſing of the ſiege of *Vienna*. VIENNA AVSTRIÆ $\frac{4}{1}\frac{4}{2}$ IVLII. AB ACHMETEII. OBSESSA $\frac{2}{2}$ SEPT. EX INSPERATO AB EO DESERTA EST. I ſhould take this, ſays *Cynthio*, for the paragraph of a *Gazette*, rather than the inſcription of a Medal. I remember you repreſented your ancient Coins as abridgments of hiſtory; but your modern, if there are many of them like this, ſhould themſelves be epitomized. Compare with this, ſays *Philander*, the brevity and comprehenſiveneſs of thoſe legends that appear on ancient Coins.

Salus

Salus Generis humani. Tellus ſtabilita. Gloria Orbis Terræ. Pacator Orbis. Reſtitutor Orbis Terrarum. Gaudium Reipublicæ. Hilaritas populi Romani. Bono Reipub. nati. Roma renaſcens. Libertas reſtituta. Sæculum Aureum Puellæ Fauſtinianæ. Rex Parthis datus. Victoria Germanica Fides Mutua. Aſia Subacta Judæa capta. Amor mutuus. Genetrix orbis. Sideribus recepta. Genio Senatûs. Fides exercitûs. Providentia Senatûs. Reſtitutori Hiſpaniæ. Adventui Aug. Britanniæ. Regna Adſignata. Adlocutio. Diſciplina Auguſti. Felicitas publica. Rex Armenis datus.

What a majeſty and force does one meet with in theſe ſhort inſcriptions! Are not you amazed to ſee ſo much hiſtory gathered into ſo ſmall a compaſs? You have often the ſubject of a Volume in a couple of words.

If our modern Medals are ſo very prolix in their proſe, they are every whit as tedious in their verſe. You have ſometimes a dull Epigram of four lines. This, ſays *Cynthio*, may be of great uſe to immortalize Puns and Quibbles, and to let poſterity ſee their forefathers were a parcel of blockheads. A Coin, I find, may be of great uſe to a bad Poet. If he cannot become immortal by the goodneſs of his verſe, he may by the durableneſs of the Metal that ſupports it. I ſhall give you an inſtance, ſays *Philander*, from a Medal of *Guſtavus Adolphus*, that will ſtand as an eternal monument of Dulneſs and Bravery.

Miles ego Chriſti, Chriſto duce ſterno tyrannos,
Hæreticos ſimul et calco meis pedibus.
Parcere Chriſticolis me, debellare feroces
Papicolas Chriſtus dux meus en animat.

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It is well, says *Cynthio*, you tell us this is a Medal of the Great *Gustavus*: I should have taken it for some one of his *Gothic* Predecessors. Does it not bring into your mind *Alexander* the Great's being accompanied with a *hærilus* in his *Persian* expedition? If you are offended at the homelineſs of this Inſcription, says *Philander*, what would you think of ſuch as have neither ſenſe nor grammar in them? I aſſure you I have ſeen the face of many a great Monarch hemmed in with falſe *Latin*. But it is not only the ſtupidity and tedioufneſs of theſe Inſcriptions that I find fault with; ſuppoſing them of a moderate length and proper ſenſe, why muſt they be in verſe? We ſhould be ſurpriſed to ſee the title of a ſerious book in rhime, yet it is every whit as ridiculous to give the ſubject of a Medal in a piece of an Hexameter. This however is the practice of our modern Medalliſts. If you look into the ancient inſcriptions, you ſee an air of ſimplicity in the words, but a great magnificence in the thought; on the contrary, in your modern Medals you have generally a trifling thought wrapt up in the beginning or end of an Heroic verſe. Where the ſenſe of an Inſcription is low, it is not in the power of *Dactyls* and *Spondees* to raiſe it; where it is noble, it has no need of ſuch affected ornaments. I remember a Medal of *Philip* the ſecond, on *Charles le Quint*'s reſigning to him the Kingdom of *Spain*, with this Inſcription, *Ut Quieſcat Atlas.* The Device is a *Hercules* with the Sphere on his ſhoulders. Notwithſtanding the thought is poetical, I dare ſay you would think the beauty of the Inſcription very much loſt, had it been—*requieſcat ut Atlas.* To inſtance a Medal of our own nation.

tion. After the concluſion of the peace with *Holland*, there was one ſtampt with the following Legend ——— *Redeant Commercia Flandris.* The thought is here great enough, but in my opinion it would have looked much greater in two or three words of proſe. I think truly, ſays *Eugenius*, it is ridiculous enough to make the Inſcription run like a piece of a verſe, when it is not taken out of an old Author. But I would fain have your opinion on ſuch Inſcriptions as are borrowed from the *Latin* Poets. I have ſeen ſeveral of this ſort that have been very prettily applied, and I fancy when they are choſen with art, they ſhould not be thought unworthy of a place in your Medals.

Which ever ſide I take, ſays *Philander*, I am like to have a great party againſt me. Thoſe who have formed their reliſh on old Coins, will by no means allow of ſuch an invocation: on the contrary, your men of wit will be apt to look on it as an improvement on ancient Medals. You will oblige us however to let us know what kind of rules you would have obſerved in the choice of your quotations, ſince you ſeem to lay a ſtreſs on their being choſen with Art. You muſt know then, ſays *Eugenius*, I do not think it enough that a quotation tells us plain matter of fact, unleſs it has ſome other accidental ornaments to ſet it off. Indeed if a great action that ſeldom happens in the courſe of human affairs is exactly deſcribed in the paſſage of an old Poet, it gives the reader a very agreeable ſurpriſe, and may therefore deſerve a place on a Medal.

Again, if there is more than a ſingle circumſtance of the action ſpecified in the quotation, it pleaſes a man to ſee an old exploit copied out

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as it were by a Modern, and running parallel with it in ſeveral of its particulars.

In the next place, when the quotation is not only apt, but has in it a turn of Wit or Satire, it is ſtill the better qualified for a Medal, as it has a double capacity of pleaſing.

But there is no Inſcription fitter for a Medal, in my opinion, than a quotation that beſides its aptneſs has ſomething in it lofty and ſublime: for ſuch an one ſtrikes in with the natural greatneſs of the ſoul, and produces a high idea of the perſon or action it celebrates, which is one of the principal deſigns of a Medal.

It is certainly very pleaſant, ſays *Eugenius*, to ſee a verſe of an old Poet, revolting as it were from its original ſenſe, and ſiding with a modern ſubject. But then it ought to do it willingly of its own accord, without being forced to it by any change in the words, or the punctuation: for when this happens, it is no longer the verſe of an ancient Poet, but of him that has converted it to his own uſe.

You have, I believe, by this time exhauſted your ſubject, ſays *Philander*; and I think the criticiſms you have made on the poetical quotations that we ſo often meet with in our modern Medals, may be very well applied to the Mottoes of books, and other Inſcriptions of the ſame nature. But before we quit the Legends of Medals, I cannot but take notice of a kind of wit that flouriſhes very much on many of the modern, eſpecially thoſe of *Germany*, when they repreſent in the Inſcription the year in which they were coined. As to mention to you another of *Guſtavus Adolphus*. CHRISTVS DVX ERGO TRIVMPHVS. If you take the pains to pick

pick out the figures from the ſeveral words, and range them in their proper order, you will find they amount to 1627, the year in which the Medal was coined; for do not you obſerve ſome of the letters diſtinguiſh themſelves from the reſt, and top it over their fellows? theſe you muſt conſider in a double capacity, as letters and as cyphers. Your laborious *German* Wits will turn you over a whole Dictionary for one of theſe ingenious Devices. You would fancy perhaps they were ſearching after an apt claſſical term, but inſtead of that, they are looking out a word that has an L. an M. or a D. in it. When therefore you ſee any of theſe Inſcriptions, you are not ſo much to look in them for the thought, as for the year of the Lord. There are foreign Univerſities where this kind of wit is ſo much in vogue, that as you praiſe a man in *England* for being an excellent Philoſopher or Poet, it is an ordinary character among them to be a great Chronogrammatiſt. Theſe are probably, ſays *Cynthio*, ſome of thoſe mild provinces of Acroſtic land, that Mr. *Dryden* has aſſigned to his Anagrams, Wings and Altars. We have now done, I ſuppoſe, with the Legend of a Medal. I think you promiſed us in the next place to ſpeak of the Figures.

As we had a great deal of talk on this part of a Coin, replied *Philander*, in our diſcourſe on the Uſefulneſs of ancient Medals, I ſhall only juſt touch on the chief heads wherein the Ancient and the Modern differ. In the firſt place, the *Romans* always appear in the proper Dreſs of their country, inſomuch that you ſee the little variations of the Mode in the drapery of the Medal. They would have thought it ridiculous

to

to have drawn an Emperor of *Rome* in a *Grecian* Cloke or a *Phrygian* Mitre. On the contrary, our modern Medals are full of *Toga*'s and *Tunica*'s, *Trabea*'s and *Paludamentums*, with a multitude of the like antiquated garments, that have not been in faſhion theſe thouſand years. You ſee very often a King of *England* or *France* dreſſed up like a *Julius Cæſar*. One would think they had a mind to paſs themſelves upon poſterity for *Roman* Emperors. The ſame obſervation may run through ſeveral cuſtoms and religions, that appear in our ancient and modern Coins. Nothing is more uſual than to ſee Alluſions to *Roman* cuſtoms and ceremonies on the Medals of our own nation. Nay very often they carry the figure of a heathen god. If poſterity takes its notions of us from our Medals, they muſt fancy one of our Kings paid a great devotion to *Minerva*, that another was a profeſſed Worſhipper of *Apollo*, or at beſt that our whole religion was a mixture of Paganiſm and Chriſtianity. Had the old *Romans* been guilty of the ſame extravagance, there would have been ſo great a confuſion in their Antiquities, that their Coins would not have had half the uſes we now find in them. We ought to look on Medals as ſo many monuments conſigned over to Eternity, that may poſſibly laſt when all other memorials of the ſame Age are worn out or loſt. They are a kind of Preſent that thoſe who are actually in Being make over to ſuch as lie hid within the depths of Futurity. Were they only deſigned to inſtruct the three or four ſucceeding generations, they are in no great danger of being miſunderſtood: but as they may paſs into the hands of a poſterity, that lie many removes from us, and

are like to act their part in the world, when its governments, manners and religions may be quite altered; we ought to take a particular care not to make any false reports in them, or to charge them with any Devices that may look doubtful or unintelligible.

I have lately seen, says *Eugenius*, a Medallic history of the present King of *France*. One might expect, methinks, to see the Medals of that nation in the highest perfection, when there is a society pensioned and set apart on purpose for the designing of them.

We will examine them, if you please, says *Philander*, in the light that our foregoing observations have set them: but on this condition that you do not look on the faults I find in them any more than my own private opinion. In the first place then, I think it is impossible to learn from the *French* Medals either the religion, custom, or habits of the *French* nation. You see on some of them the Cross of our Saviour, and on others *Hercules'* his Club. In one you have an Angel, and in another a *Mercury*. I fancy, says *Cynthio*, posterity would be as much puzzled on the religion of *Louis le Grand*, were they to learn it from his Medals, as we are at present on that of *Constantine* the Great. It is certain, says *Philander*, there is the same mixture of Christian and Pagan in their Coins; nor is there a less confusion in their customs. For example, what relation is there between the figure of a Bull, and the planting of a *French* colony in *America?* The *Romans* made use of this type in allusion to one of their own customs at the sending out of a colony. But for the *French*, a Ram, a Hog, or an Elephant, would

would have been every whit as ſignificant an emblem. Then can any thing be more unnatural than to ſee a King of *France* dreſſed like an Emperor of *Rome*, with his arms ſtripped up to the elbows, a Laurel on his head, and a *Chlamys* over his Shoulders? I fancy, ſays *Eugenius*, the ſociety of Medalliſts would give you their reaſons for what they have done. You yourſelf allow the Legend to be *Latin*, and why may not the cuſtoms and ornaments be of the ſame country as the language? eſpecially ſince they are all of them ſo univerſally underſtood by the learned. I own to you, ſays *Philander*, if they only deſign to deliver down to poſterity the ſeveral parts of their Great Monarch's hiſtory, it is no matter for the other circumſtances of a Medal; but I fancy it would be as great a pleaſure and inſtruction for future ages, to ſee the Dreſſes and Cuſtoms of their anceſtors, as their Buildings and Victories. Beſides, I do not think they have always choſen a proper Occaſion for a Medal. There is one ſtruck, for example, on the *Engliſh* failing in their attempts on *Dunkirk:* when in the laſt reign they endeavoured to blow up a Fort, and bombard the town. What have the *French* here done to boaſt of? A Medal however you have with this inſcription, DVNKIRKA ILLÆSA. Not to cavil at the two K's in *Dunkirka*, or the impropriety of the word *Illæſa*, the whole Medal, in my opinion, tends not ſo much to the honour of the *French* as of the *Engliſh*,

——————*quos opimus*
Fallere et effugere eſt triumphus.

I could mention a few other faults, or at leaſt what I take for ſuch. But at the ſame time muſt be forced to allow, that this Series of Medals is the moſt perfect of any among the moderns in the beauty of the Work, the aptneſs of the Device, and the propriety of the Legend. In theſe and other particulars, the *French* Medals come nearer the ancients than thoſe of any other country, as indeed it is to this nation we are indebted for the beſt lights that have been given to the whole ſcience in general.

I muſt not here forget to mention the Medallic hiſtory of the Popes, where there are many Coins of an excellent workmanſhip, as I think they have none of thoſe faults that I have ſpoken of in the preceding ſet. They are always *Roman*-Catholic in the Device and in the Legend, which are both of them many times taken out of the holy Scriptures, and therefore not unſuitable to the character of the Prince they repreſent. Thus when *Innocent* XI. lay under terrible apprehenſions of the *French* King, he put out a Coin, that on the reverſe of it had a ſhip toſſed on the waves to repreſent the Church. Before it, was the figure of our Saviour walking on the waters, and St. *Peter* ready to ſink at his feet. The inſcription, if I remember, was in *Latin. Help Lord, or elſe I periſh.* This puts me in mind, ſays *Cynthio*, of a Paſquinade, that at the ſame time was fixed up at *Rome. Ad Galli cantum Petrus flet.* But methinks, under this head of the figures on ancient and modern Coins, we might expect to hear your opinion on the difference that appears in the Workmanſhip of each. You muſt know then, ſays *Philander*, that till about the end of the third Century,

tury, when there was a general decay in all the arts of deſigning, I do not remember to have ſeen the head of a *Roman* Emperor drawn with a full face. They always appear in *profil*, to uſe a *French* term of art, which gives us the view of a head, that, in my opinion, has ſomething in it very majeſtic, and at the ſame time ſuits beſt with the dimenſions of a Medal. Beſides that it ſhows the noſe and eyebrows, with the ſeveral prominencies and fallings in of the features, much more diſtinctly than any other kind of figure. In the lower Empire you have abundance of broad *Gothic* faces, like ſo many full Moons on the ſide of a Coin. Among the moderns too, we have of both ſorts, though the fineſt are made after the antique. In the next place, you find the figures of many ancient Coins riſing up in a much more beautiful *relief* than thoſe on the modern. This too is a beauty that fell with the grandeur of the *Roman* Emperors, ſo that you ſee the face ſinking by degrees in the ſeveral declenſions of the Empire, till about *Conſtantine*'s time it lies almoſt even with the ſurface of the Medal. After this it appears ſo very plain and uniform, that one would think the Coiner look'd on the flatneſs of a figure as one of the greateſt beauties in Sculpture. I fancy, ſays *Eugenius*, the Sculptors of that age had the ſame reliſh as a *Greek* Prieſt that was buying ſome religious pictures at *Venice*. Among others he was ſhown a noble piece of *Titian*. The Prieſt having well ſurvey'd it, was very much ſcandalized at the extravagance of the *relief*, as he termed it. You know, ſays he, our religion forbids all idolatry: We admit of no Images but ſuch as are drawn on a ſmooth ſurface:

face: The figure you have here ſhown me, ſtands ſo much out to the eye, that I would no ſooner ſuffer it in my Church than a Statue. I could recommend your *Greek* Prieſts, ſays *Philander*, to abundance of celebrated Painters on this ſide of the *Alps* that would not fail to pleaſe him. We muſt own however, that the figures on ſeveral of our modern Medals are raiſed and rounded to a very great perfection. But if you compare them in this particular with the moſt finiſhed among the ancients, your men of art declare univerſally for the latter.

Cynthio and *Eugenius*, though they were well pleaſed with *Philander*'s diſcourſe, were glad however to find it at an end: for the Sun began to gather ſtrength upon them, and had pierced the ſhelter of their walks in ſeveral places. *Philander* had no ſooner done talking, but he grew ſenſible of the heat himſelf, and immediately propoſed to his friends the retiring to his lodgings, and getting a thicker ſhade over their heads. They both of them very readily cloſed with the propoſal, and by that means give me an opportunity of finiſhing my Dialogue.

THREE SETS OF

MEDALS

Illuſtrated by the

ANCIENT POETS,

In the foregoing DIALOGUES.

——————— *decipit*
Frons prima multos; rara mens intelligit
Quod interiore condidit cura angulo. Phædr.

Multo poetarum veniet manus, Auxilio quæ
Sit mihi ——— Hor.

THE

FIRST SERIES.

The First Series.

1. VIRTUTI AVGVSTI. S. C. Reverſe of *Domitian.*
2. HONOS ET VIRTUS. Reverſe of *Galba.*
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4. PAX ORBIS TERRARVM. Reverſe of *Otho.*
5. ABVNDANTIA AVG. S. C. Reverſe of *Gordianus Pius.*
6, 7. FIDES EXERCITUS. Reverſe of *Heliogabalus.*
8. SPES AVGVSTA. Reverſe of *Claudius.*
9. SECURITAS PVBLICA. S. C. Reverſe of *Antoninus Pius.*
10. PVDICITIA. S. C. Reverſe of *Fauſtina Junior.*
11. PIETAS AVG. S. C. Reverſe of *Fauſtina Senior.*
12. AEQVITAS AVGVSTI. S. C. Reverſe of *Vitellius.*
13. AETERNITAS. S. C. Reverſe of *Antoninus Pius.*
14. SAECVLVM AVREVM. Reverſe of *Adrian.*
15. FELIX TEMPORUM REPARATIO. Reverſe of *Conſtantine.*
16. AETERNITAS AVGVSTI. S. C. Reverſe of *Adrian.*
17. AETERNITAS. S. C. Reverſe of *Antonine.*
18. VICTORIA AVGVSTI. S. C. Reverſe of *Nero.*
19. SARMATIA DEVICTA, A Victory. Reverſe of *Conſtantine.*
20. LIBERTAS PUBLICA. S. C. Reverſe of *Galba.*

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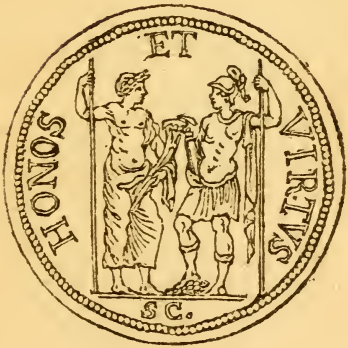

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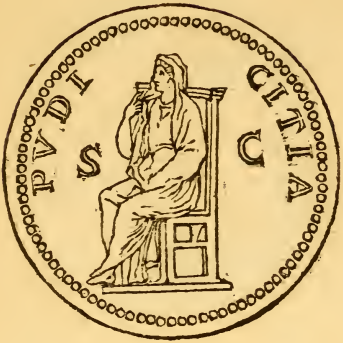

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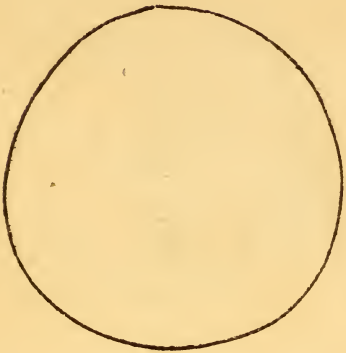

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THE

THE

SECOND SERIES.

1. FELICITATI AVG. COS. III. P. P. S. C. Reverſe of *Hadrian.*
2. PONTIF. MAX. TR. POT. PP. COS. II.
3. P. N. R. S. C. Reverſe of *Claudius.*
4. S. C. Reverſe of *Auguſtus.*
5. S. P. Q. R. P. P. OB CIVES SERVATOS. Reverſe of *Caligula.*
6. Reverſe of *Tiberius.*
7. FIDES PVBLICA. Reverſe of *Titus.*
8. PRAETOR RECEPT. Reverſe of *Claudius.*
9. FECVNDITAS. S. C. Reverſe of *Julia Auguſta.*
10. NERO CLAV. CAESAR. IMP. ET OCTAVIA. AVGUST. F. Reverſe of *Claudius.*
11. ORIENS AVG. Reverſe of *Aurelian.*
12. Reverſe of *Commodus.*
13. GLORIA EXERCITVS, E. S. I. S. } Reverſe of
14. PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS. S. C. } *Conſtantine.*
15. M. CATO. L. VETTIACVS. II. VIR. LEG. IV. LEG. VI. LEG. X. C. C. A. Reverſe of *Tiberius.*
16. TR. P. VII. IMP. III. COS. V. P. P. S. C. Reverſe of *Trajan.*
17. TR. POT. V. IMP. III. COS. II. S. C. Reverſe of *Lucius Verus.*
18. PAX. AVG. S. C. Reverſe of *Veſpaſian.*
19. IMP. VIII. COS. III. P. P. S. C. DE GERMANIS ——— } Reverſe of *Marcus Aurelius.*
20. IMP. VIII. COS. III. P. P. S. C. DE SARMATIS. ——— }
21. Reverſe of *Trajan.*
22. TR. POT. XIIII. P. P. COS. II. Reverſe of *M. Aurelius.*
23. DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER. Coin'd under *Tiberius.*
24. COS. IIII. S. C. Reverſe of *Antoninus Pius.*

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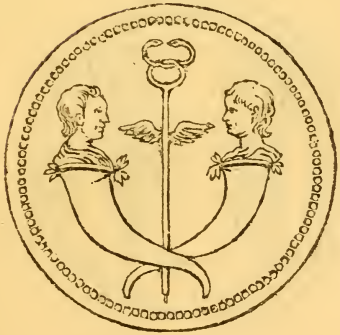

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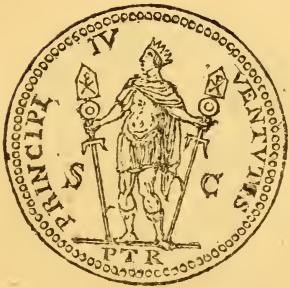

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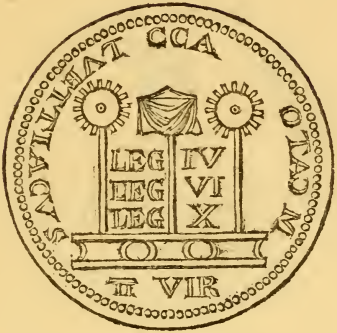
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THE

THIRD SERIES.

The THIRD SERIES.

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2. AFRICA. S. C. Reverſe of *Septimius Severus.*
3. AFRICA. S. C. Reverſe of *Adrian.*
4. AEGIPTOS. S. C. Reverſe of *Adrian.*
5. MAVRETANIA. S. C. Reverſe of *Adrian.*
6. HISPANIA. S. C. Reverſe of *Adrian.*
7. ADVENTVI AVG. GALLIAE. S. C. Reverſe of *Adrian.*
8. ITALIA. S. C. Reverſe of *Marcus Antoninus.*
9. ROMA. S. C. Reverſe of *Nero.*
10. RESTITVTORI ACHAIAE. Reverſe of *Adrian.*
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13. IVDEA CAPTA. S. C. } Reverſe of
14. VICTORIA AVGVSTI. S. C. } *Veſpaſian.*
15. PARTHIA. S. C. COS. II. Reverſe of *Antoninus Pius.*
16. ANTIOCHIA.
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18. ARAB. ADQ. S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI. S. C. Reverſe of *Trajan.*

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THE PRESENT

STATE of the WAR,

AND THE

Neceſſity of an AUGMENTATION, conſidered.

PREFACE.

THE Author of the following Eſſay has endeavoured to draw into one continued ſcheme the whole ſtate of the preſent war, and the methods that appear to him the moſt proper for bringing it to a happy concluſion.

After having conſidered that the French *are the conſtant and moſt dangerous enemies to the* Britiſh *nation, and that the danger from them is now greater than ever, and will ſtill increaſe till their preſent Union with* Spain *be broken, he ſets forth the ſeveral advantages which this Union has already given* France, *and taken from* Great-Britain, *in relation to the* Weſt-Indies, *the woollen manufacture, the trade of the* Levant, *and the naval power of the two nations.*

He ſhews how theſe Advantages will ſtill riſe higher after a peace, notwithſtanding our preſent conqueſts, with new additions, ſhould be confirmed to us, as well becauſe the monarchy of Spain *would not be weakened by ſuch conceſſions, as becauſe no Guarantee could be found ſufficient to ſecure them to us. For which reaſons he lays it down as a fixt Rule, that no peace is to be made without an entire diſunion of the* French *and* Spaniſh *Monarchies.*

That this may be brought about, he endeavours to prove from the progreſs we have already made toward it, and the ſucceſſes we have purchaſed in the preſent war, which are very conſiderable if well purſued, but of no effect if we acquieſce in them.

In order to complete this diſunion in which we have gone ſo far, he would not have us rely upon exhauſting the French *Treaſury, Attempts on the* Spaniſh

Indies, *Descents on* France, *but chiefly upon out-numbering them in troops*, France *being already drained of her best supplies, and the confederates masters of much greater forces for multitude and strength, both in men and horse, and provided with Generals of greater fame and abilities.*

He then considers the wrong measures we have hitherto taken in making too small levies after a successful campaign, in regulating their number by that of the enemies forces, and hiring them of our confederates; shewing at the same time the inconveniences we suffer from such hired troops, and several advantages we might receive from employing those of our own nation.

He further recommends this augmentation of our forces, to prevent the keeping up a standing body of them in times of peace, to enable us to make an impression on the Enemy in the present posture of the war, and to secure ourselves against a Prince, who is now at the head of a powerful army, and has not yet declared himself.

In the last place, he answers by several considerations those two popular objections, That we furnish more towards the war than the rest of the Allies, and That we are not able to contribute more than we do already.

These are the most material heads of the following essay, in which there are many other subordinate reflexions that naturally grow out of so copious a subject.

November 1707.

THE

THE PRESENT

STATE of the WAR,

AND

The Neceſſity of an Augmentation conſidered.

THE *French* are certainly the moſt implacable, and the moſt dangerous enemies of the *Britiſh* nation. Their form of government, their religion, their jealouſy of the *Britiſh* power, as well as their proſecutions of commerce, and purſuits of univerſal Monarchy, will fix them for ever in their animoſities and averſions towards us, and make them catch at all opportunities of ſubverting our conſtitution, deſtroying our religion, ruining our trade, and ſinking the figure which we make among the nations of *Europe:* Not to mention the par-

ticular ties of honour that lie on their preſent King to impoſe on us a Prince, who muſt prove fatal to our country if he ever reigns over us.

As we are thus in a natural ſtate of war, if I may ſo call it, with the *French* nation; it is our misfortune, that they are not only the moſt inveterate, but moſt formidable of our enemies; and have the greateſt power, as well as the ſtrongeſt inclination, to ruin us. No other ſtate equals them in the force of their fleets and armies, in the nearneſs and conveniency of their ſituation, and in the number of friends and well-wiſhers, which, it is to be feared, they have among us.

For theſe reaſons, our wars with *France* have always affected us in our moſt tender intereſts, and concerned us more than thoſe we have had with any other nation; but I may venture to ſay, this Kingdom was never yet engaged in a war of ſo great conſequence, as that which now lies upon our hands. Our All is at ſtake, and irretrievably loſt, if we fail of ſucceſs. At other times, if a war ended in a diſhonourable peace, or with equal loſs, we could comfort ourſelves with the hopes of a more favourable juncture, that might ſet the balance right, or turn it to our advantage. We had ſtill the proſpect of forming the ſame alliance, or perhaps ſtrengthning it with new confederacies, and by that means of trying our fortune a ſecond time, in caſe the injuſtice or ambition of the enemy forced us into the field. At preſent, if we make a drawn game of it, or procure but moderate advantages, we are in a condition which every *Britiſh* heart muſt tremble at the thought of. There are no

ſecond

second trials, no wars in reserve, no knew schemes of alliance to which we can have recourse. Should the *French* King be able to bear down such an united force as now makes head against him, at a time when *Spain* affords him no greater assistance; what will he do when the trade of the *Levant* lies at his mercy; when the whole kingdom of *Spain* is supplied with his manufactures, and the wealth of the *Indies* flows into his coffers; and, what is yet worse, when this additional strength must arise in all its particulars from a proportionable decay in the States that now make war upon him? It is no wonder therefore that our late King of glorious memory, who, by the confession of his greatest enemies, was a Prince that perfectly understood the interest of *Europe*, should in his last speech recommend to his Parliament the declaring war against *France* in those memorable words: *You have yet an opportunity, by God's blessing, to secure to you and your posterity the quiet enjoyment of your religion and liberties, if you are not wanting to yourselves, but will exert the ancient vigour of the* English *nation: but I tell you plainly, my opinion is, if you do not lay hold on this occasion, you have no reason to hope for another.*

We have already a dreadful proof of the increase of power that accrues to *France* from its conjunction with *Spain*. So expensive a war as that which the *French* Monarchy hath been carrying on in so many and so remote parts at once, must long since have drained and exhausted all its substance, had there not been several secret springs, that swelled their treasury from time to time, in proportion as the war has sunk it. The

King's coffers have been often reduced to the loweſt ebb, but have ſtill been ſeaſonably refreſhed by frequent and unexpected ſupplies from the *Spaniſh America*. We hear indeed of the arrival but of very few ſhips from thoſe parts; but as in every veſſel there is ſtowage for immenſe treaſures, when the cargo is pure Bullion, or merchandiſe of as great a value: ſo we find by experience they have had ſuch prodigious ſums of money conveyed to them by theſe ſecret channels, that they have been enabled to pay more numerous armies, than they ever had on foot before; and that at a time when their trade fails in all its other branches, and is diſtreſſed by all the arts and contrivances of their neighbouring nations. During the laſt four years, by a modeſt computation, there have been brought into *Breſt* above ſix millions of pounds ſterling in bullion. What then ſhall we ſuppoſe wou'd be the effect of this correſpondence with *America*, might the wealth of thoſe parts come to them on ſquadrons of men of war, and fleets of galeons? if theſe little by-currents, that creep into the country by ſtealth, have ſo great a force, how ſhall we ſtem the whole torrent, when it breaks in upon us with its full violence? and this certainly will be our caſe, unleſs we find a means to diſſolve the union between *France* and *Spain*. I have dwelt the longer on this conſideration, becauſe the preſent war hath already furniſhed us with the experiment, and ſenſibly convinced us of the increaſe of power, which *France* has received from its intercourſe with the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*.

As there are many who look upon every thing

which they do not actually see and feel as bare probability and speculation, I shall only touch on those other reasons of which we have already had some experience, for our preventing this coalition of interests and designs in the two monarchies.

The Woollen manufacture is the *British* strength, the staple commodity and proper growth of our country; if this fails us, our trade and estates must sink together, and all the cash of the nation be consumed on foreign merchandize. The *French* at present gain very much upon us in this great article of our trade, and since the accession of the *Spanish* monarchy, supply with cloth, of their own making, the very best mart we had in *Europe*. And what a melancholy prospect have we, if ever a peace gives them leave to enrich their manufacture with mixtures of *Spanish* wool, to multiply the hands employed in it, to improve themselves in all the niceties of the art, and to vend their wares in those places where was the greatest consumption of our woollen works, and the most considerable gain for the *British* merchant? Notwithstanding our many seasonable recruits from *Portugal* and our plantations, we already complain of our want of bullion; and must at last be reduced to the greatest exigencies, if this great source be dried up, and our traffick with *Spain* continue under its present discouragement.

The trade of the *Levant* must likewise flourish or decay in our hands, as we are friends or enemies of the *Spanish* monarchy. The late conquest of *Naples* will very little alter the case, though *Sicily* should follow the fate of her sister kingdom. The *Strait*'s mouth is the key of the

Levant, and will be always in the poſſeſſion of thoſe who are Kings of *Spain*. We may only add, that the ſame cauſes which ſtraiten the *Britiſh* commerce, will naturally enlarge the *French*; and that the naval force of either nation will thrive or languiſh in the ſame degree as their commerce gathers or loſes ſtrength. And if ſo powerful and populous a nation as that of *France* become ſuperior to us by ſea, our whole is loſt, and we are no more a people. The conſideration of ſo narrow a channel betwixt us, of ſuch numbers of regular troops on the enemies ſide, of ſo ſmall a ſtanding force on our own, and that too in a country deſtitute of all ſuch forts and ſtrong places as might ſtop the progreſs of a victorious army, hath ſomething in it ſo terrifying, that one does not care for ſetting it in its proper light. Let it not therefore enter into the heart of any one that hath the leaſt zeal for his religion, or love of liberty, that hath any regard either to the honour or ſafety of his country, or a well-wiſher for his friends or poſterity, to think of a peace with *France*, till the *Spaniſh* monarchy be entirely torn from it, and the houſe of *Bourbon* diſabled from ever giving the law to *Europe*.

Let us ſuppoſe that the *French* King would grant us the moſt advantageous terms we can deſire; without the ſeparation of the two monarchies they muſt infallibly end in our deſtruction. Should he ſecure to us all our preſent acquiſitions; ſhould he add two or three frontier-towns to what we have already in *Flanders*; ſhould he join the kingdoms of *Sicily* and *Sardinia* to *Milan* and *Naples*; ſhould he leave King *Charles* in the peaceable poſſeſſion of *Catalonia*; ſhould

ſhould he make over to *Great Britain* the town and harbour of *Cadiz*, as well as that of *Gibraltar*, and at the ſame time reſign his Conqueſts in *Portugal*: it would all be of no effect towards the common ſafety of *Europe*, while the bulk of the *Spaniſh* continent and the riches of *America* remain in the poſſeſſion of the *Bourbon* family.

Boccalini when he weighs the States of *Europe* in his political balance, after having laid *France* in one ſcale, throws *Spain* into the other, which wanted but very little of being a counter-poiſe. The *Spaniards* upon this, ſays he, begun to promiſe themſelves the honour of the balance, reckoning that if *Spain* of itſelf weighed ſo well, they could not fail of ſucceſs when the ſeveral parts of the monarchy were lumped in the ſame ſcale. Their ſurpriſe was very great when upon the throwing in of *Naples* they ſaw the ſcale riſe, and was greater ſtill when they found that *Milan* and *Flanders* had the ſame effect. The truth of it is, theſe parts of the *Spaniſh* monarchy are rather for ornament than ſtrength. They furniſh out Vice-royalties for the Grandees, and poſts of honour for the noble families; but in a time of war are incumbrances to the main body of the kingdom, and leave it naked and expoſed by the great number of hands they draw from it to their defence. Should we therefore continue in the poſſeſſion of what we have already made ourſelves maſters, with ſuch additions as have been mentioned, we ſhould have little more than the excreſcencies of the *Spaniſh* monarchy. The ſtrength of it will ſtill join itſelf to *France*, and grow the cloſer to it by its diſunion from the reſt. And in this caſe the advantages which muſt ariſe to that people from their intimate al-

liance with the remaining part of the *Spanish* dominions, would in a very few years not only repair all the damages they have sustained in the present war, but fill the kingdom with more riches than it hath yet had in its most flourishing periods.

The *French* King hath often entered on several expensive projects, on purpose to dissipate the wealth that is continually gathering in his coffers in times of peace. He hath employed immense sums on architecture, gardening, water-works, painting, statuary, and the like, to distribute his treasures among his people, as well as to humour his pleasures and his ambition; but if he once engrosses the commerce of the *Spanish Indies*, whatever quantities of gold and silver stagnate in his private coffers, there will be still enough to carry on the circulation among his subjects. By this means in a short space of time he may heap up greater wealth than all the Princes of *Europe* joined together; and in the present constitution of the world, wealth and power are but different names for the same thing. Let us therefore suppose that after eight or ten years of peace, he hath a mind to infringe any of his treaties, or invade a neighbouring State; to revive the pretensions of *Spain* upon *Portugal*, or attempt the taking those places which were granted us for our security; what resistance, what opposition can we make to so formidable an enemy? Should the same alliance rise against him that is now in war with him, what could we hope for from it, at a time when the States engaged in it will be comparatively weakened, and the enemy who is now able to keep them at a stand, will have received so many new accessions of strength? But

But I think it is not to be imagined that in such a conjuncture as we here suppose, the same confederates, or any other of equal force, could be prevailed upon to join their arms, and endeavour at the pulling down so exorbitant a power. Some might be brought into his interests by money, others drawn over by fear, and those that are liable to neither of these impressions, might not think their own interest so much concerned as in the present war; or if any appeared in a disposition to enter into such a confederacy, they might be crushed separately before they could concert measures for their mutual defence.

The keeping together of the present alliance can be ascribed to nothing else but the clear and evident conviction which every member of it is under, that if it should once break without having had its effect, they can never hope for another opportunity of reuniting, or of prevailing by all the joint efforts of such an union. Let us therefore agree on this as a fixt rule, and an inviolable maxim, never to lay down our arms against *France*, till we have utterly disjoined her from the *Spanish* monarchy. Let this be the first step of a public treaty, the basis of a general peace.

Had the present war indeed run against us, and all our attacks upon the enemy been vain, it might look like a degree of frenzy, or a mixture of obstinacy and despair, to be determined on so impracticable an undertaking. But on the contrary, we have already done a great part of our work, and are come within view of the end that we have been so long driving at. We

remain victorious in all the feats of war. In *Flanders* we have got into our hands several open countries, rich towns, and fortified places. We have driven the enemy out of all his alliances, dispossessed him of his strong holds, and ruined his allies in *Germany*. We have not only recovered what the beginning of the war had taken from us, but possessed ourselves of the kingdom of *Naples*, the dutchy of *Milan*, and the avenue of *France* in *Italy*. The *Spanish* war hath given us a haven for our ships, and the most populous and wealthy province of that kingdom. In short, we have taken all the outlying parts of the *Spanish* monarchy, and made impressions upon the very heart of it. We have beaten the *French* from all their advanced posts in *Europe*, and driven them into their last intrenchments. One vigorous push on all sides, one general assault will force the enemy to cry out for quarter, and surrender themselves at discretion. Another *Blenheim* or *Ramillies* will make the confederates masters of their own terms, and arbitrators of a peace.

But notwithstanding the advantages already gained are very considerable if we pursue them, they will be of no effect unless we improve them towards the carrying of our main point. The enemy staggers; if you follow your blow, he falls at your feet; but if you allow him respite, he will recover his strength, and come upon you with greater fury. We have given him several repeated wounds that have enfeebled him, and brought him low; but they are such as time will heal, unless you take advantage from his present weakness to redouble your attacks upon him. It was a celebrated

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part in *Cæsar*'s character, and what comet home to our present purpose, that he thoughs nothing at all was done, while any thing remained undone. In short, we have been tugging a great while against the stream, and have almost weathered our point; a stretch or two more will do the work; but if instead of that we slacken our arms, and drop our oars, we shall be hurried back in a moment to the place from whence we first set out.

After having seen the necessity of an entire separation of the kingdoms of *France* and *Spain*, our subject naturally leads us into the consideration of the most proper means for effecting it.

We have a great while flattered ourselves with the prospect of reducing *France* to our own terms by the want of money among the people, and the exigencies of the public treasury; but have been still disappointed by the great sums imported from *America*, and the many new expedients which the Court hath found out for its relief. A long consumptive war is more likely to break the grand alliance, than disable *France* from maintaining sufficient armies to oppose it. An arbitrary government will never want money so long as the people have it; and so active a people will always have it, whilst they can send what merchandises they please to *Mexico* and *Peru*. The *French* since their alliance with *Spain* keep thirty ships in constant motion between the western ports of *France* and the south seas of *America*. The King himself is an adventurer in this traffic, and besides the share that he receives out of the gains of his subjects, has immense sums that come directly from it into his own hands.

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We may further conſider, that the *French* ſince their abandoning *Bavaria* and *Italy* have very much retrenched the expence of the war, and lay out among themſelves all the money that is conſumed in it.

Many are of opinion, that the moſt probable way of bringing *France* to reaſon would be by the making an attempt upon the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, and by that means to cut off all communication with this great ſource of riches, or turn the current of it into our own country. This I muſt confeſs carries ſo promiſing an appearance, that I would by no means diſcourage the attempt: but at the ſame time I think it ſhould be a collateral project rather than our principal deſign. Such an undertaking (if well concerted and put into good hands) would be of infinite advantage to the common cauſe: but certainly an enterprife that carries in it the fate of *Europe*, ſhould not turn upon the uncertainty of winds and waves, and be liable to all the accidents that may befal a naval expedition.

Others there are that have long deceived themſelves with the hopes of an inſurrection in *France*, and are therefore for laying out all our ſtrength on a deſcent. Theſe I think, do not enough conſider the natural love which the groſs of mankind have for the conſtitution of their fathers. A man that is not enlightned by travel or reflexion, grows as fond of arbitrary power, to which he hath been uſed from his infancy, as of cold climates, or barren countries in which he hath been born and bred. Beſides, there is a kind of ſluggiſh reſignation, as well as poorneſs and degeneracy of ſpirit, in a ſtate of ſlavery, that we meet with but very few who will be

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at the pains or danger of recovering themſelves out of it; as we find in hiſtory inſtances of perſons who after their priſons have been flung open, and their fetters ſtruck off, have choſen rather to languiſh in their dungeons, than ſtake their miſerable lives and fortunes upon the ſucceſs of a revolution. I need not inſtance the general fate of deſcents, the difficulty of ſupplying men and proviſions by ſea againſt an enemy that hath both at hand, and without which it is impoſſible to ſecure thoſe conqueſts that are often made in the firſt onſets of an invaſion. For theſe and other reaſons I can never approve the nurſing up commotions and inſurrections in the enemy's country, which for want of the neceſſary ſupport are likely to end in the maſſacre of our friends and the ruin of their families.

The only means therefore for bringing *France* to our conditions, and what appears to me, in all human probability, a ſure and infallible expedient, is to throw in multitudes upon them, and overpower them with numbers. Would the confederacy exert itſelf as much to annoy the enemy, as they themſelves do for their defence, we might bear them down with the weight of our armies, and in one ſummer overſet the whole power of *France*.

The *French* monarchy is already exhauſted of its beſt and braveſt ſubjects. The flower of the nation is conſumed in its wars: the ſtrength of their armies conſiſts at preſent of ſuch as have ſaved themſelves by flight from ſome or other of the victorious confederates; and the only proper perſons to recruit them are but the refuſe of thoſe who have been already picked out for the ſervice. Mareſchal *de Vauban*, though infinitely partial,

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in his calculations of the power of *France*, reckons that the number of its inhabitants was two millions leſs at the peace of *Ryſwick*, than in the beginning of the war that was there concluded: and though that war continued nine years, and this hath as yet laſted but ſix, yet conſidering that their armies are more ſtrong and numerous; that there hath been much more action in the preſent war; and that their loſſes ſuſtained in it have been very extraordinary; we may, by a moderate computation, ſuppoſe that the preſent war hath not been leſs prejudicial than the foregoing one in the ravage which it has made among the people. There is in *France* ſo great a diſproportion between the number of males and females; and among the former, between thoſe who are capable of bearing arms, and ſuch as are too young, ſickly, or decrepit for the ſervice; and at the ſame time ſuch vaſt numbers of Eccleſiaſtics, ſecular and religious, who live upon the labours of others, that when the ſeveral trades and profeſſions are ſupplied, you will find moſt of thoſe that are proper for war abſolutely neceſſary for filling up the laborious part of life and carrying on the underwork of the nation. They have already contributed all their ſuperfluous hands, and every new levy they make muſt be at the expence of their farms and vineyards, their manufactures and commerce.

On the contrary, the grand Alliance have innumerable ſources of recruits, not only in *Britain* and *Ireland*, the *United Provinces*, and *Flanders*; but in all the populous parts of *Germany* that have little trade or manufactures, in proportion to the number of their inhabitants. We may

may add, that the *French* have only *Switzerland*, beſides their own country, to recruit in; and we know the difficulties they meet with in getting thence a ſingle regiment: whereas the Allies have not only the ſame reſource, but may be ſupplied for money from *Denmark* and other neutral States. In ſhort the Confederates may bring to the field what forces they pleaſe, if they will be at the charge of them: but *France*, let her wealth be what it will, muſt content herſelf with the product of her own country.

The *French* are ſtill in greater ſtraits for ſupplies of horſe than men. The breed of their country is neither ſo good nor numerous as what are to be found in moſt of the countries of the Allies. They had laſt ſummer about threeſcore thouſand in their ſeveral armies, and could not perhaps bring into the field thirty thouſand more, if they were diſpoſed to make ſuch an augmentation.

The *French* horſe are not only few, but weak in compariſon of ours. Their cavalry in the battle of *Blenheim* could not ſuſtain the ſhock of the *Britiſh* horſe. For this reaſon our late way of attacking their troops ſword in hand is very much to the advantage of our nation, as our men are more robuſt, and our horſes of a ſtronger make than the *French*; and in ſuch attacks it is the weight of the forces, ſuppoſing equal courage and conduct, that will always carry it. The *Engliſh* ſtrength turned very much to account in our wars againſt the *French* of old, when we uſed to gall them with our long bows, at a greater diſtance than they could ſhoot their arrows; this advantage we loſt upon

on the invention of fire-arms, but by the present method our strength as well as bravery may again be of use to us in the day of battle.

We have very great encouragement to send what numbers we are able into the field, because our Generals at present are such as are likely to make the best use of them, without throwing them away on any fresh attempts or ill-concerted projects. The Confederate armies have the happiness of being commanded by persons who are esteemed the greatest leaders of the present age, and are perhaps equal to any that have preceded them. There is a sort of resemblance in their characters; a particular sedateness in their conversation and behaviour, that qualifies them for council, with a great intrepidity and resolution that fits them for action. They are all of them men of concealed fire, that doth not break out with noise and heat in the ordinary circumstances of life; but shews itself sufficiently in all gteat enterprises that require it. It is true the General upon the *Rhine* hath not had the same occasions as the others to signalize himself; but if we consider the great vigilance, activity and courage, with the consummate prudence, and the nice sense of honour which appears in that Prince's character, we have great reason to hope, that as he purchased the first success in the present war, by forcing into the service of the Confederates an army that was raised against them in the very heart of the Empire, he will give one of the finishing strokes to it, and help to conclude the great work which he so happily begun. The sudden check that he gave to the *French* army the last

laſt campaign, and the good order he eſtabliſhed in that of the *Germans*, look like happy preſages of what we may expect from his conduct. I ſhall not pretend to give any character of the Generals on the enemies ſide; but I think we may ſay this, that in the eyes of their own nation they are inferior to ſeveral that have formerly commanded the *French* armies. If then we have greater numbers than the *French*, and at the ſame time better Generals, it muſt be our own fault if we will not reap the fruit of ſuch advantages.

It would be loſs of time to explain any farther our ſuperiority to the enemy in numbers of men and horſe. We ſee plainly that we have the means in our hands, and that nothing but the application of them is wanting. Let us only conſider what uſe the enemy would make of the advantage we have mentioned, if it fell on their ſide; and is it not very ſtrange that we ſhould not be as active and induſtrious for our ſecurity, as they would certainly be for our deſtruction? But before we conſider more diſtinctly the method we ought to take in the proſecution of the war, under this particular view, let us reflect a little upon thoſe we have already taken in the courſe of it for theſe ſix years paſt.

The Allies after a ſucceſsful ſummer are too apt, upon the ſtrength of it, to neglect their preparations for the enſuing campaign, while the *French* leave no art nor ſtratagem untried to fill up the empty ſpaces of their armies, and ſwell them to an equal bulk with thoſe of the Confederates. By this means our advantage is loſt, and the fate of *Europe* brought

brought to a second decision. It is now become an observation, that we are to expect a very indifferent year after a very successful one. *Blenheim* was followed by a summer that makes no noise in the war. *Ramillies*, *Turin*, and *Barcelona*, were the parents of our last campaign. So many dreadful blows alarmed the enemy, and raised their whole country up in arms. Had we on our side made proportionable preparations, the war by this time had been brought to a happy issue. If after having gained the great victories of *Blenheim* and *Ramillies*, we had made the same efforts as we should have done had we lost them, the power of *France* could not have withstood us.

In the beginning of the winter we usually get what intelligence we can of the force which the enemy intends to employ in the campaigns of the succeeding year, and immediately cast about for a sufficient number of troops to face them in the field of battle. This, I must confess, would be a good method if we were engaged in a defensive war. We might maintain our ground with an equal number of forces; but our business is not only to secure what we are already in possession of; we are to wrest the whole *Spanish* Monarchy out of the hands of the enemy; and in order to it, to work our way into the heart of his country by dint of arms. We should therefore put forth all our strength, and without having an eye to his preparations, make the greatest push that we are able on our own side. We are told that the enemy at present thinks of raising threescore thousand men for the next summer; if we regulate our levies in that view, we do nothing; let us perform our utmost,

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as they do, and we shall overwhelm them with our multitudes. We have it in our power at least to be four times as strong as the *French*, but if ten men are in war with forty, and the latter detach only an equal number to the engagement, what benefit do they receive from their superiority?

It seems therefore to be the business of the Confederates to turn to their advantage their apparent odds in men and horse; and by that means to out-number the enemy in all rencounters and engagements. For the same reason it must be for the interest of the Allies to seek all opportunities of battle, because all losses on the opposite side are made up with infinitely more difficulty than on ours; besides that the *French* do their business by lying still, and have no other concern in the war than to hold fast what they have already got into their hands.

The miscarriage of the noblest project that ever was formed in *Europe*, can be ascribed to nothing else but our want of numbers in the several quarters of the war. If our armies on all sides had begun to busy and insult the enemy, at the same time that the forces marched out of *Piemont*, *Toulon* had been at present in the hands of the Duke of *Savoy*. But could that Prince ever have imagined that the *French* would have been at liberty to detach whole armies against him? or will it appear credible to posterity, that in a war carried on by the joint force of so many populous and powerful nations, *France* could send so great a part of its troops to one seat of the war, without suffering in any of the rest? Whereas it is well known, that if

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the Duke of *Savoy* had continued before *Toulon* eight days longer, he had been attacked by an army of ſixty thouſand men, which was more than double the number of his own; and yet the enemy was ſtrong enough every where elſe to prevent the Confederates from making any impreſſion upon them. However let us fall into the right meaſures, and we may hope that the ſtroke is only deferred. The Duke of *Savoy* hath ſecured a paſſage into *Dauphiny*, and if the Allies make ſuch efforts in all parts, as we may reaſonably expect from them, that Prince may ſtill make himſelf Maſter of the *French* dominions on the other ſide of the *Rhone*.

There is another part of our conduct which may perhaps deſerve to be conſidered. As ſoon as we have agreed with the States-General upon any augmentation of our forces, we immediately negotiate with ſome or other of the *German* Princes, who are in the ſame confederacy, to furniſh out our quota in Mercenaries. This may be doubly prejudicial to the alliance; Firſt, as it may have an ill influence on the reſolutions of thoſe Princes in the Diet of the Empire, who may be willing to ſettle as ſmall a quota as they can for themſelves, that they may have more troops to hire out; and in the next place, as it may hinder them from contributing the whole quota which they have ſettled. This actually happened in the laſt campaign, when we are told the *Germans* excuſed themſelves for their want of troops upon the *Rhine*, as having already put moſt of their forces into the *Britiſh* and *Dutch* ſervice. Such an excuſe, indeed, is very unjuſt, but it would be better to give them no occaſion of making it; and on ſuch

ſuch occaſions to conſider what men are apt to do, as well as what they may do with reaſon.

It might therefore be for our advanrage that all the foreign troops in the *Britiſh* pay ſhould be raiſed in neutral countries. *Switzerland* in particular, if timely applied to, might be of great uſe to us; not only in reſpect of the reinforcements which we might draw from thence, but becauſe ſuch a draught of forces would leſſen the number of thoſe that might otherwiſe be employed in the *French* ſervice. The bulk of our levies ſhould nevertheleſs be raiſed in our own country, it being impoſſible for neutral States to furniſh both the *Britiſh* and *Dutch* with a ſufficient number of effective men; beſides that the *Britiſh* ſoldiers will be more at the diſpoſal of their General, and act with greater vigour under the conduct of one for whom they have ſo juſt a value, and whom they do not conſider only as their leader, but as their countryman. We may likewiſe ſuppoſe that the ſoldiers of a neutral ſtate, who are not animated by any national intereſt, cannot fight for pay with the ſame ardour and alacrity, as men that fight for their Prince and Country, their wives and children.

It may likewiſe be worth while to conſider whether the military Genius of the *Engliſh* nation may not fail by degrees, and become inferior to that of our neighbouring ſtates, if it hath no occaſion to exert itſelf. Minds that are altogether ſet on trade and profit, often contract a certain narrowneſs of temper, and at length become uncapable of great and generous reſolutions. Should the *French* ever make an unexpected deſcent upon us, we might want ſoldiers of

of our own growth to rise up in our defence; and might not have time to draw a sufficient number of troops to our relief from the remote corners of *Germany*. It is generally said, that if King *Charles* II. had made war upon *France* in the beginning of his reign, he might have conquered it by the many veterans which were scattered up and down this kingdom, and had been inured to service in the civil wars. It is to be hoped we shall never have such another nursery of soldiers; but if the present war gives a more military turn to all other nations of *Europe*, than to our own, it is to be feared we may lose in strength, what we gain in number. We may apply the same consideration nearer home. If all our levies are made in *Scotland* or *Ireland*, may not those two parts of the *British* monarchy, after the disbanding of the present army, be too powerful for the rest, in case of a revolt? though, God be thanked, we are not in any danger of one at present. However, as these considerations do not concern the more essential part of our design, it is sufficient to have mentioned them.

The sparing of ourselves in so important a conjuncture, when we have but this single opportunity left for the preserving every thing that is precious amongst us, is the worst sort of management that we can possibly fall into. The good husbandry of one age may intail an endless expence upon all posterity. We must venture the sacrificing a part of our lives and fortunes at present, if we will effectually secure both for the future. The *British* Kingdom is so well stock'd with people, and so much abounds in horse, that we have power enough in our own hands,

hands, did we make our utmoſt uſe of it, to humble *France*, and in a campaign or two to put an end to the war.

There is not a more diſagreeable thought to the people of *Great Britain* than that of a ſtanding army. But if a peace be made before the diſunion of *France* and *Spain*, there are few, perhaps, that will not think the maintaining a ſettled body of numerous forces indiſpenſable for the ſafety of our country. We have it therefore in our choice to raiſe ſuch a ſtrong reinforcement of troops as at preſent may be ſufficient, in conjunction with thoſe of the allies, for breaking the ſtrength of the enemy; or when the peace is concluded, to keep on foot ſuch an army as will be neceſſary for preventing his attempts upon us.

It is to be hoped that thoſe who would be the moſt zealous againſt keeping up a conſtant body of regular troops after a general peace, will the moſt diſtinguiſh themſelves for the promoting an augmentation of thoſe which are now on foot; and by that means take care that we ſhall not ſtand in need of ſuch an expedient.

We are indeed obliged by the preſent ſituation of our affairs to bring more troops into the field than we have yet done. As the *French* are retired within their lines, and have collected all their ſtrength into a narrow compaſs, we muſt have greater numbers to charge them in their intrenchments, and force them to a battle. We ſaw the laſt campaign that an army of fourſcore thouſand of the beſt troops in *Europe*, with the Duke of *Marlborough* at the head of them, could do nothing againſt an enemy that were too numerous

merous to be assaulted in their camps, or attacked in their strong holds.

There is another consideration which deserves our utmost attention. We know very well, that there is a Prince at the head of a powerful army, who may give a turn to the war, in which we are engaged, if he thinks fit to side with either party. I cannot presume to guess how far our ministers may be informed of his designs: but unless they have very strong assurances of his falling in with the grand alliance, or not opposing it, they cannot be too circumspect and speedy in taking their precautions against any contrary resolution. We shall be unpardonable, if after such an expence of blood and treasure, we leave it in the power of any single Prince to command a peace, and make us accept what conditions he thinks fit. It is certain, according to the posture of our affairs in the last campaign, this Prince could have turn'd the balance on either side; but it is to be hoped the liberties of *Europe* will not depend any more on the determination of one man's will. I do not speak this because I think there is any appearance of that Prince's uniting himself to *France*. On the contrary, as he hath an extraordinary zeal for the reformed religion, and great sentiments of honour, I think it is not improbable we should draw him over to the confederacy, if we press him to it by proper motives. His love for religion, and his sense of glory, will both have their effect on a Prince who hath already distinguished himself by being a patron of protestants, and guarantee of the *Westphalian* treaty. And if his interest hath any part in his actions, the allies

allies may make him greater offers than the *French* King can do in the preſent conjuncture. There are larger extents of dominion in the forfeited principalities of the Empire; doubtful ſucceſſions, to which the King of *Sweden* ſeems to have very juſt pretenſions; and at the ſame time a great title not yet diſpoſed of, and a ſeat of war on the *Moſelle*, where none of our generals have ſignalized themſelves. It would be preſumption to be particular in any propoſals on ſuch an occaſion; it is enough to have ſhewn in general, that there are fair opportunities, of which the wiſdom of the confederates may make uſe.

Common ſenſe will direct us, when we ſee ſo warlike a prince at the head of ſo great an army hovering on the borders of our confederates, either to obtain his friendſhip, or ſecure ourſelves againſt the force of his arms. We are ſure, whatever numbers of troops we raiſe, we ſhall have no hands but what will turn to account. Nay, we are certain, that extraordinary funds and augmentations for one or two campaigns may ſpare us the expence of many years, and put an end to taxes and levies for a whole age; whereas a long parſimonious war will drain us of more men and money, and in the end may prove ineffectual.

There is ſtill a great popular objection, which will be made to every thing that can be urged on this ſubject. And indeed it is ſuch a one as falls ſo much in with the prejudices and little paſſions of the multitude, that when it is turned and ſet off to advantage by ill-deſigning men, it throws a damp on the public ſpirit of

the nation, and gives a check to all generous resolutions for its honour and safety. In short, we are to be told, that *England* contributes much more than any other of the Allies, and that therefore it is not reasonable she should make any addition to her present efforts. If this were true in fact, I do not see any tolerable colour for such a conclusion. Supposing among a multitude embarked in the same vessel, there are several that in the fury of a tempest will rather perish than work for their preservation; would it not be madness in the rest to stand idle, and rather choose to sink together than do more than comes to their share? Since we are engaged in a work so absolutely necessary for our welfare, the remissness of our Allies should be an argument for us to redouble our endeavours rather than slacken them. If we must govern ourselves by example, let us rather imitate the vigilance and activity of the common enemy, than the supineness and negligence of our friends.

We have indeed a much greater share in the war than any other part of the confederacy. The *French* King makes at us directly, keeps a King by him to set over us, and hath very lately augmented the salary of his court, to let us see how much he hath that design at his heart. Few of the nations in war with him, should they ever fall into his hands, would lose their religion or form of government, or interfere at present with him in matters of commerce. The *Dutch*, who are likely to be the greatest losers after the *Britons*, have but little trade to the *Levant* in comparison with ours, have no considerable plantations or commerce in the *West-Indies*,

Indies, or any woollen-manufactures for *Spain*; not to mention the ſtrong barrier they have already purchaſed between *France* and their own country.

But after all, every nation in the confederacy makes the ſame complaint, and fancies itſelf the greateſt ſufferer by the war. Indeed in ſo common a preſſure, let the weight be never ſo equally diſtributed, every one will be moſt ſenſible of that part which lies on his own ſhoulders. We furniſh, without diſpute, more than any other branch of the Alliance: but the queſtion is, whether others do not exert themſelves in proportion according to their reſpective ſtrength. The Emperor, the King of *Pruſſia*, the Elector of *Hanover*, as well as the States of *Holland* and the Duke of *Savoy*, ſeem at leaſt to come up to us. The greateſt powers in *Germany* are borrowing money where they can get it, in order to maintain their ſtated Quota's, and go thorough their part of the expence: and if any of the Circles have been negligent, they have paid for it much more in their late contributions, than what would have furniſhed out their ſhares in the common charges of the war.

There are others who will object the poverty of the nation, and the difficulties it would find in furniſhing greater ſupplies to the war than it doth at preſent. To this we might anſwer, that if the nation were really as poor as this objection makes it, it ſhould be an argument for enforcing rather than diminiſhing our preſent efforts againſt *France*. The ſinking our taxes for a few years would be only a temporary relief, and in a little time occaſion far greater impoſi-

tions, than thoſe which are now laid upon us. Whereas the ſeaſonable expence of part of our riches, will not only preſerve the reſt; but by the right uſe of them procure vaſt additions to our preſent ſtock. It may be neceſſary for a perſon languiſhing under an ill habit of body to loſe ſeveral ounces of blood, notwithſtanding it will weaken him for a time, in order to put a new ferment into the remaining maſs, and draw it into freſh ſupplies.

But we can by no means make this conceſſion, to thoſe who ſo induſtriouſly publiſh the nation's poverty. Our country is not only rich, but abounds in wealth much more than any other of the ſame extent in *Europe*. *France*, notwithſtanding the goodneſs of its climate, the fertility of its ſoil, the multitude of its inhabitants, its convenient harbours, both for the *Ocean* and *Mediterranean*, and its preſent correſpondence with the *Weſt-Indies*, is not to compare with *Great-Britain* in this particular. I ſhall tranſcribe word for word the paſſage of a late celebrated *French* Author, which will lay this matter in its full light; and leave the Reader to make the counterpart of the parallel between the two nations.

" According to all the inquiries that I have " been able to make during ſeveral years, in " which I have applied myſelf to this ſort of " remarks, I have obſerved, that about a tenth " part of the people of this kingdom are reduced " to beggary, and are actual beggars. That " among the nine other parts, five are not in a " condition to give alms or relief to thoſe afore- " mentioned, being very near reduced them- " ſelves

" ſelves to the ſame miſerable condition. Of " the four other remaining parts, three are very " uneaſy in their circumſtances, and embar- " raſſed with debts and law-ſuits. In the tenth " part, I reckon the Soldiers, Lawyers, Ec- " cleſiaſtics, Merchants and ſubſtantial Citi- " zens, which cannot make up more than a " hundred thouſand families. And I believe I " ſhould not be miſtaken, if I ſhould ſay, that " there are not above ten thouſand of theſe fa- " milies, who are very much at their eaſe: and " if out of theſe ten thouſand we ſhould take the " men that are employed in public buſineſs, " with their dependents and adherents, as alſo " thoſe whom the King ſupports by his bounty, " with a few Merchants, the number of thoſe " who remain will be ſurpriſingly little. *Dixme* " *Royale.*

What a dreadful account is this of nineteen millions of People; for ſo many the author reckons in that kingdom. How can we ſee ſuch a multitude of ſouls caſt under ſo many ſubdiviſions of miſery without reflecting on the abſurdity of a form of government that ſacrifices the eaſe and happineſs of ſo many reaſonable Beings to the glory of one of their fellow-creatures? But this is not our affair at preſent.

If we run over the other nations of *Europe* that have any part in the preſent war, we ſhall only paſs through ſo many different ſcenes of poverty. *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *Savoy* are reduced to great extremities. *Germany* is exhauſted to the laſt degree in many parts of it, and in others plundered of all ſhe had left. *Holland* indeed flouriſhes above the reſt in wealth and plenty:

but if we consider the infinite industry and penuriousness of that people, the coarseness of their food and raiment, their little indulgences of pleasure and excess, it is no wonder that notwithstanding they furnish as great taxes as their neighbours, they make a better figure under them. In a common-wealth there are not so many overgrown estates as in monarchies, the wealth of the country is so equally distributed, that most of the community are at their ease, though few are placed in extraordinary points of splendor and magnificence. But notwithstanding these circumstances may very much contribute to the seeming prosperity of the *United Provinces*, we know they are indebted many millions more than their whole republic is worth, and if we consider the variety of taxes and impositions they groan under at a time when their private dissensions run high, and some of the wealthiest parts of the government refuse to bear their share in the public expence, we shall not think the condition of that people so much to be envied as some amongst us would willingly represent it.

Nor is *Great Britain* only rich as she stands in comparison with other States, but is really so in her own intrinsic wealth. She had never more ships at sea, greater quantities of merchandise in her ware-houses, larger receipts of customs, or more numerous commodities rising out of her manufactures than she has at present. In short, she sits in the midst of a mighty affluence of all the necessaries and conveniences of life. If our silver and gold diminishes, our public credit continues unimpaired, and if we are in want of bullion,

bullion, it lies in our own power to ſupply ourſelves. The old *Roman* General, when he heard his army complain of thirſt, ſhewed them the ſprings and rivers that lay behind the enemy's camp. It is our own caſe: the rout of a *Spaniſh* army would make us maſters of the *Indies*.

If Prince *Eugene* takes upon him the command of the confederate forces in *Catalonia*, and meets with that ſupport from the alliance which they are capable of giving him, we have a fair proſpect of reducing *Spain* to the intire obedience of the houſe of *Auſtria*. The *Sileſian* fund (to the immortal reputation of thoſe generous patriots who were concerned in it) enabled that Prince to make a conqueſt of *Italy*, at a time when our affairs were more deſperate there, than they are at preſent in the kingdom of *Spain*.

When our Parliament has done their utmoſt, another public-ſpirited project of the ſame nature, which the common enemy could not foreſee nor prepare againſt, might in all probability ſet King *Charles* upon the throne for which he hath ſo long contended. One pitched battle would determine the fate of the *Spaniſh* continent.

Let us therefore exert the united ſtrength of our whole Iſland, and by that means put a new life and ſpirit into the confederates, who have their eyes fixed upon us, and will abate or increaſe their preparations according to the example that is ſet them. We ſee the neceſſity of an augmentation if we intend to bring the enemy to reaſon, or reſcue our country from the miſe-

ries that may befal it; and we find ourſelves in a condition of making ſuch an augmentation as, by the bleſſing of God, cannot but prove effectual. If we carry it on vigorouſly, we ſhall gain for ourſelves and our poſterity a long, a glorious, and a laſting-peace; but if we neglect ſo fair an opportunity, we may be willing to employ all our hands, and all our treaſures, when it will be too late; and ſhall be tormented with one of the moſt melancholy reflexions of an afflicted heart, That it was once in our power to have made ourſelves and our children happy.

OF THE

Christian Religion.

OF THE

Chriſtian Religion.

SECTION I.

I. *General diviſion of the following diſcourſe, with regard to* Pagan *and* Jewiſh *Authors, who mention particulars relating to our Saviour.*

II. *Not probable that any ſuch ſhould be mentioned by* Pagan *writers who lived at the ſame time, from the nature of ſuch tranſactions.*

III. *Eſpecially when related by the* Jews.

IV. *And heard at a diſtance by thoſe who pretended to as great miracles of their own.*

V. *Beſides that, no* Pagan *writers of that age lived in* Judæa *or its Confines.*

VI. *And becauſe many books of that age are loſt.*

VII. *An inſtance of one record proved to be authentic.*

VIII. *A ſecond record of probable, though not undoubted, authority.*

I. THAT

I. THAT I may lay before you a full ſtate of the ſubject under our conſideration, and methodize the ſeveral particulars that I touched upon in diſcourſe with you; I ſhall firſt take notice of ſuch *Pagan* Authors, as have given their teſtimony to the hiſtory of our Saviour; reduce theſe Authors under their reſpective claſſes, and ſhew what authority their teſtimonies carry with them. Secondly, I ſhall take notice of *Jewiſh* Authors in the ſame light.

II. There are many reaſons, why you ſhould not expect that matters of ſuch a wonderful nature ſhould be taken notice of by thoſe eminent *Pagan* writers, who were contemporaries with *Jeſus Chriſt*, or by thoſe who lived before his Diſciples had perſonally appeared among them, and aſcertained the report which had gone abroad concerning a life ſo full of miracles.

Suppoſing ſuch things had happened at this day in *Switzerland*, or among the *Griſons*, who make a greater figure in *Europe* than *Judæa* did in the *Roman* Empire, would they be immediately believed by thoſe who live at a great diſtance from them? or would any certain account of them be tranſmitted into foreign countries, within ſo ſhort a ſpace of time as that of our Saviour's public miniſtry? Such kinds of news, though never ſo true, ſeldom gain credit, till ſome time after they are tranſacted and expoſed to the examination of the curious, who by laying together circumſtances, atteſtations, and characters of thoſe who are concerned in them, either receive or reject what at firſt none but eye-witneſſes could abſolutely believe or diſbelieve. In a caſe of this ſort, it was natural for

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men of ſenſe and learning to treat the whole account as fabulous, or at fartheſt to ſuſpend their belief of it, until all things ſtood together in their full light.

III. Beſides, the *Jews* were branded not only for ſuperſtitions different from all the religions of the *Pagan* world, but in a particular manner ridiculed for being a credulous people; ſo that whatever reports of ſuch a nature came out of that country, were looked upon by the heathen world as falſe, frivolous, and improbable.

IV. We may further obſerve that the ordinary practice of Magic in thoſe times, with the many pretended Prodigies, Divinations, Apparitions, and local Miracles among the Heathens, made them leſs attentive to ſuch news from *Judæa*, till they had time to conſider the nature, the occaſion, and the end of our Saviour's miracles, and were awakened by many ſurpriſing events to allow them any conſideration at all.

V. We are indeed told by St. *Matthew*, that the fame of our Saviour, during his life, went throughout all *Syria*, and that there followed him great multitudes of people from *Galilee*, *Judæa*, *Decapolis*, *Idumæa*, from beyond *Jordan*, and from *Tyre* and *Sidon*. Now had there been any hiſtorians of thoſe times and places, we might have expected to have ſeen in them ſome account of thoſe wonderful tranſactions in *Judæa*; but there is not any ſingle Author extant, in any kind, of that age, in any of thoſe countries.

VI. How many books have periſhed in which poſſibly there might have been mention of our Saviour? Look among the *Romans*, how few of their

their writings are come down to our times? In the space of two hundred years from our Saviour's birth, when there was such a multitude of writers in all kinds, how small is the number of Authors that have made their way to the present age?

VII. One authentic Record, and that the most authentic heathen Record, we are pretty sure is lost. I mean the account sent by the Governor of *Judæa*, under whom our Saviour was judged, condemned, and crucified. It was the custom in the *Roman* Empire, as it is to this day in all the governments of the world, for the præfects and vice-roys of distant provinces to transmit to their Sovereign a summary relation of every thing remarkable in their administration. That *Pontius Pilate*, in his account, would have touched on so extraordinary an event in *Judæa*, is not to be doubted; and that he actually did, we learn from *Justin Martyr*, who lived about a hundred years after our Saviour's death, resided, made Converts, and suffered martyrdom at *Rome*, where he was engaged with Philosophers, and in a particular manner with *Crescens* the *Cynic*, who could easily have detected, and would not fail to have exposed him, had he quoted a Record not in being, or made any false citation out of it. Would the great Apologist have challenged *Crescens* to dispute the Cause of Christianity with him before the *Roman* Senate, had he forged such an evidence? or would *Crescens* have refused the challenge, could he have triumphed over him in the detection of such a forgery? To which we must add, that the Apology, which appeals to this Record, was presented to a learned Emperor, and

and to the whole body of the *Roman* Senate. This father in his apology, ſpeaking of the death and ſuffering of our Saviour, refers the Emperor for the truth of what he ſays to the acts of *Pontius Pilate*, which I have here mentioned. *Tertullian*, who wrote his Apology about fifty years after *Juſtin*, doubtleſs referred to the ſame Record, when he tells the Governor of *Rome*, that the Emperor *Tiberius* having received an account out of *Paleſtine* in *Syria* of the Divine perſon who had appeared in that country, paid him a particular regard, and threatened to puniſh any who ſhould accuſe the chriſtians; nay, that the Emperor would have adopted him among the Deities whom they worſhipped, had not the Senate refuſed to come into his propoſal. *Tertullian*, who gives us this hiſtory, was not only one of the moſt learned men of his age, but, what adds a greater weight to his authority in this caſe, was eminently ſkilful and well read in the laws of the *Roman* Empire. Nor can it be ſaid, that *Tertullian* grounded his quotation upon the authority of *Juſtin Martyr*, becauſe we find he mixes it with matters of fact which are not related by that Author. *Euſebius* mentions the ſame ancient Record, but as it was not extant in his time, I ſhall not inſiſt upon his authority in this point. If it be objected that this particular is not mentioned in any *Roman* Hiſtorian, I ſhall uſe the ſame argument in a parallel caſe, and ſee whether it will carry any force with it. *Ulpian* the great *Roman* Lawyer gathered together all the Imperial Edicts that had been made againſt the chriſtians. But did any one ever ſay that there had been no ſuch Edicts, becauſe they were

not

not mentioned in the histories of those Emperors? Besides, who knows but this circumstance of *Tiberius* was mentioned in other historians that have been lost, though not to be found in any still extant? Has not *Suetonius* many particulars of this Emperor omitted by *Tacitus*, and *Herodian* many that are not so much as hinted at by either? As for the spurious *Acts* of *Pilate*, now extant, we know the occasion and time of their writing, and that had there not been a true and authentic Record of this nature, they would never have been forged.

VIII. The story of *Agbarus* King of *Edessa*, relating to the letter which he sent to our Saviour, and to that which he received from him, is a record of great authority; and though I will not insist upon it, may venture to say, that had we such an evidence for any fact in *Pagan* history, an Author would be thought very unreasonable who should reject it. I believe you will be of my opinion, if you will peruse, with other Authors, who have appeared in vindication of these letters as genuine, the additional arguments which have been made use of by the late famous and learned Dr. *Grabe*, in the second volume of his *Spicilegium*.

SECTION II.

I. *What facts in the history of our Saviour might be taken notice of by* Pagan *Authors.*
II. *What particular facts are taken notice of, and by what* Pagan *Authors.*
III. *How* Celsus *represented our Saviour's miracles.*
IV. *The same representation made of them by other unbelievers, and proved unreasonable.*
V. *What facts in our Saviour's history not to be expected from* Pagan *writers.*

I. WE now come to consider what undoubted authorities are extant among *Pagan* writers; and here we must premise, that some parts of our Saviour's history may be reasonably expected from *Pagans.* I mean such parts as might be known to those who lived at a distance from *Judæa*, as well as to those who were the followers and eye-witnesses of *Christ.*

II. Such particulars are most of these which follow, and which are all attested by some one or other of those heathen Authors, who lived in or near the age of our Saviour and his disciples. *That* Augustus Cæsar *had ordered the whole empire to be censed or taxed*, which brought our Saviour's reputed parents to *Bethlehem:* This is mentioned by several *Roman* historians, as *Tacitus*,

tus, *Suetonius*, and *Dion*. *That a great light or a new star appeared in the east, which directed the wise men to our Saviour:* This is recorded by *Chalcidius*. *That* Herod, *the King of* Palestine, *so often mentioned in the* Roman *history, made a great slaughter of innocent children*, being so jealous of his successor, that he put to death his own sons on that account: This character of him is given by several historians, and this cruel fact mentioned by *Macrobius*, a heathen Author, who tells it as a known thing, without any mark of doubt upon it. *That our Saviour had been in* Egypt: This *Celsus*, though he raises a monstrous story upon it, is so far from denying, that he tells us our Saviour learned the arts of magic in that country. *That* Pontius Pilate *was Governor of* Judæa, *that our Saviour was brought in judgment before him, and by him condemned and crucified*: This is recorded by *Tacitus*. *That many miraculous cures and works out of the ordinary course of nature were wrought by him:* This is confessed by *Julian* the Apostate, *Porphyry*, and *Hierocles*, all of them not only *Pagans*, but professed enemies and persecutors of Christianity. *That our Saviour foretold several things, which came to pass according to his predictions:* This was attested by *Phlegon* in his annals, as we are assured by the learned *Origen* against *Celsus*. *That at the time when our Saviour died, there was a miraculous darkness and a great earthquake:* This is recorded by the same *Phlegon* the *Trallian*, who was likewise a *Pagan* and Freeman to *Adrian* the Emperor. We may here observe, that a native of *Trallium*, which was not situate at so great a distance from *Palestine*, might very probably be informed of such remarkable events as had passed among the

Jews

Jews in the age immediately preceding his own times, ſince ſeveral of his countrymen with whom he had converſed, might have received a confuſed report of our Saviour before his crucifixion, and probably lived within the Shake of the earthquake, and the Shadow of the eclipſe, which are recorded by this Author. *That* Chriſt *was worſhipped as a God among the Chriſtians*; *that they would rather ſuffer death than blaſpheme him*; *that they received a ſacrament, and by it entered into a vow of abſtaining from ſin and wickedneſs*, conformable to the advice given by St. *Paul*; *that they had private aſſemblies of worſhip, and uſed to join together in Hymns:* This is the account which *Pliny* the younger gives of Chriſtianity in his days, about ſeventy years after the death of *Chriſt*, and which agrees in all its circumſtances with the accounts we have in holy writ, of the firſt ſtate of Chriſtianity after the crucifixion of our Bleſſed Saviour. *That St.* Peter, *whoſe miracles are many of them recorded in holy writ, did many wonderful works*, is owned by *Julian* the apoſtate, who therefore repreſents him as a great Magician, and one who had in his poſſeſſion a book of magical ſecrets left him by our Saviour. *That the devils or evil ſpirits were ſubject to them*, we may learn from *Porphyry*, who objects to Chriſtianity, that ſince *Jeſus* had begun to be worſhipped, *Æſculapius* and the reſt of the gods did no more converſe with men. Nay, *Celſus* himſelf affirms the ſame thing in effect, when he ſays, that the power which ſeemed to reſide in Chriſtians, proceeded from the uſe of certain names, and the invocation of certain dæmons. *Origen* remarks on this paſſage, that the Author

thor doubtless hints at those Christians who put to flight evil spirits, and healed those who were possessed with them; a fact which had been often seen, and which he himself had seen, as he declares in another part of his discourse against *Celsus*. But at the same time he assures us, that this miraculous power was exerted by the use of no other name but that of *Jesus*, to which were added several passages in his history, but nothing like any invocation to *Dæmons*.

III. *Celsus* was so hard set with the report of our Saviour's miracles, and the confident attestations concerning him, that though he often intimates he did not believe them to be true, yet knowing he might be silenced in such an answer, provides himself with another retreat, when beaten out of this; namely, that our Saviour was a magician. Thus he compares the feeding of so many thousands at two different times with a few loaves and fishes, to the magical feasts of those *Egyptian* impostors, who would present their spectators with visionary entertainments that had in them neither substance nor reality: which by the way, is to suppose, that a hungry and fainting multitude were filled by an apparition, or strengthned and refreshed with shadows. He knew very well that there were so many witnesses and actors, if I may call them such, in these two miracles, that it was impossible to refute such multitudes, who had doubtless sufficiently spread the fame of them, and was therefore in this place forced to resort to the other solution, that it was done by magic. It was not enough to say that a miracle which appeared to so many thousand eye-witnesses was a forgery of *Christ*'s disciples, and

and therefore ſuppoſing them to be eye-witneſſes, he endeavours to ſhew how they might be deceived.

IV. The uncontroverted heathens, who were preſſed by the many authorities that confirmed our Saviour's miracles, as well as the unbelieving *Jews*, who had actually ſeen them, were driven to account for them after the ſame manner: For, to work by magic in the heathen way of ſpeaking, was in the language of the *Jews* to caſt out devils by *Beelzebub* the Prince of the devils. Our Saviour, who knew that unbelievers in all ages would put this perverſe interpretation on his miracles, has branded the malignity of thoſe men, who contrary to the dictates of their own hearts ſtarted ſuch an unreaſonable objection, as a blaſphemy againſt the Holy Ghoſt, and declared not only the guilt, but the puniſhment of ſo black a crime. At the ſame time he condeſcended to ſhew the vanity and emptineſs of this objection againſt his miracles, by repreſenting that they evidently tended to the deſtruction of thoſe powers, to whoſe aſſiſtance the enemies of his doctrine then aſcribed them. An argument, which, if duly weighed, renders the objection ſo very frivolous and groundleſs, that we may venture to call it even blaſphemy againſt common ſenſe. Would Magic endeavour to draw off the minds of men from the worſhip which was paid to ſtocks and ſtones, to give them an abhorrence of thoſe evil ſpirits who rejoiced in the moſt cruel ſacrifices, and in offerings of the greateſt impurity; and in ſhort to call upon mankind to exert their whole ſtrength in the love and adoration of that one being, from whom they derived their exiſtence,

tence, and on whom only they were taught to depend every moment for the happineſs and continuance of it? Was it the buſineſs of magic to humanize our natures with compaſſion, forgiveneſs, and all the inſtances of the moſt extenſive charity? Would evil ſpirits contribute to make men ſober, chaſte, and temperate, and in a word to produce that reformation, which was wrought in the moral world by thoſe doctrines of our Saviour, that received their Sanction from his miracles? Nor is it poſſible to imagine, that evil ſpirits would enter into a combination with our Saviour to cut off all their correſpondence and intercourſe with mankind, and to prevent any for the future from addicting themſelves to thoſe rites and ceremonies, which had done them ſo much honour. We ſee the early effect which Chriſtianity had on the minds of men in this particular, by that number of books, which were filled with the ſecrets of magic, and made a ſacrifice to Chriſtianity by the converts mentioned in the *Acts* of the Apoſtles. We have likewiſe an eminent inſtance of the inconſiſtency of our Religion with magic, in the hiſtory of the famous *Aquila*. This Perſon, who was a kinſman of the Emperor *Trajan*, and likewiſe a man of great learning, notwithſtanding he had embraced Chriſtianity, could not be brought off from the ſtudies of magic, by the repeated admonitions of his fellow-chriſtians: ſo that at length they expelled him their ſociety, as rather chooſing to loſe the reputation of ſo conſiderable a Proſelyte, than communicate with one who dealt in ſuch dark and infernal practices. Beſides we may obſerve, that all the favourers of magic were

the moſt profeſt and bitter enemies to the chriſtian religion. Not to mention *Simon Magus* and many others, I ſhall only take notice of thoſe two great perſecutors of chriſtianity, the Emperors *Adrian* and *Julian* the Apoſtate, both of them initiated in the myſteries of divination, and ſkilled in all the depths of magic. I ſhall only add, that evil ſpirits cannot be ſuppoſed to have concurred in the eſtabliſhment of a religion which triumphed over them, drove them out of the places they poſſeſt, and diveſted them of their influence on mankind: nor would I mention this particular, though it be unanimouſly reported by all the ancient chriſtian Authors; did it not appear from the authorities above cited, that this was a fact confeſt by heathens themſelves.

V. We now ſee what a multitude of *Pagan* teſtimonies may be produced for all thoſe remarkable paſſages, which might have been expected from them: and indeed of ſeveral, that, I believe, do more than anſwer your expectation, as they were not ſubjects in their own nature ſo expoſed to public notoriety. It cannot be expected they ſhould mention particulars, which were tranſacted amongſt the Diſciples only, or among ſome few even of the Diſciples themſelves; ſuch as the transfiguration, the agony in the garden, the appearance of *Chriſt* after his reſurrection, and others of the like nature. It was impoſſible for a heathen author to relate theſe things; becauſe if he had believed them, he would no longer have been a heathen, and by that means his teſtimony would not have been thought of ſo much validity. Beſides, his very report of facts ſo favourable

rable to Christianity would have prompted men to say that he was probably tainted with their doctrine. We have a parallel case in *Hecatæus*, a famous *Greek* Historian, who had several passages in his book conformable to the history of the *Jewish* writers, which when quoted by *Josephus*, as a confirmation of the *Jewish* history, when his heathen adversaries could give no other answer to it, they would need suppose that *Hecatæus* was a *Jew* in his heart, though they had no other reason for it, but because his history gave greater authority to the *Jewish* than the *Egyptian* Records.

SECTION III.

I. *Introduction to a second list of* Pagan *Authors, who give testimony of our Saviour.*

II. *A passage concerning our Saviour, from a learned* Athenian.

III. *His conversion from* Paganism *to Christianity makes his evidence stronger than if he had continued a* Pagan.

IV. *Of another* Athenian *Philosopher converted to Christianity.*

V. *Why their conversion, instead of weakening, strengthens their evidence in defence of Christianity.*

VI. *Their belief in our Saviour's history founded at first upon the principles of historical faith.*

VII.

VII. *Their teſtimonies extended to all the particulars of our Saviour's hiſtory.*

VIII. *As related by the four Evangeliſts.*

I. TO this liſt of heathen writers, who make mention of our Saviour, or touch upon any particulars of his life, I ſhall add thoſe Authors who were at firſt heathens, and afterwards converted to Chriſtianity; upon which account, as I ſhall here ſhew, their teſtimonies are to be looked upon as the more authentic. And in this liſt of evidences, I ſhall confine myſelf to ſuch learned *Pagans* as came over to Chriſtianity in the three firſt centuries, becauſe thoſe were the times in which men had the beſt means of informing themſelves of the truth of our Saviour's hiſtory, and becauſe among the great number of Philoſophers who came in afterwards, under the reigns of chriſtian Emperors, there might be ſeveral who did it partly out of worldly motives.

II. Let us now ſuppoſe, that a learned heathen writer who lived within 60 years of our Saviour's crucifixion, after having ſhewn that falſe miracles were generally wrought in obſcurity, and before few or no witneſſes, ſpeaking of thoſe which were wrought by our Saviour, has the following paſſage. "But his works were "always ſeen, becauſe they were true, they "were ſeen by thoſe who were healed, and by "thoſe who were raiſed from the dead. Nay "theſe perſons who were thus healed, and raiſ-"ed, were ſeen not only at the time of their "being healed, and raiſed, but long afterwards. "Nay they were ſeen not only all the while "our Saviour was upon earth, but ſurvived

" after his departure out of this world, nay " ſome of them were living in our days.

III. I dare ſay you would look upon this as a glorious atteſtation for the cauſe of Chriſtianity, had it come from the hand of a famous *Athenian* Philoſopher. Theſe forementioned words however are actually the words of one who lived about ſixty years after our Saviour's crucifixion, and was a famous Philoſopher in *Athens:* but it will be ſaid, he was a convert to Chriſtianity. Now conſider this matter impartially, and ſee if his teſtimony is not much more valid for that reaſon. Had he continued a *Pagan* Philoſopher, would not the world have ſaid that he was not ſincere in what he writ, or did not believe it; for, if ſo, would not they have told us he would have embraced Chriſtianity? This was indeed the caſe of this excellent man: he had ſo thoroughly examined the truth of our Saviour's hiſtory, and the excellency of that religion which he taught, and was ſo entirely convinced of both, that he became a Proſelyte and died a Martyr.

IV. *Ariſtides* was an *Athenian* Philoſopher, at the ſame time, famed for his learning and wiſdom, but converted to Chriſtianity. As it cannot be queſtioned that he peruſed and approved the apology of *Quadratus*, in which is the paſſage juſt now cited, he joined with him in an apology of his own, to the ſame Emperor, on the ſame ſubject. This apology, tho' now loſt, was extant in the time of *Ado Viennenſis*, *A. D.* 870, and highly eſteemed by the moſt learned *Athenians*, as that Author witneſſes. It muſt have contained great arguments for the truth of our Saviour's hiſtory, becauſe in it he aſſerted the

the divinity of our Saviour, which could not but engage him in the proof of his miracles.

V. I do allow that, generally speaking, a man is not so acceptable and unquestioned an evidence in facts, which make for the advancement of his own party. But we must consider that, in the case before us, the persons to whom we appeal, were of an opposite party, till they were persuaded of the truth of those very facts, which they report. They bear evidence to a history in defence of Christianity, the truth of which history was their motive to embrace Christianity. They attest facts which they had heard while they were yet heathens, and had they not found reason to believe them, they would still have continued heathens, and have made no mention of them in their writings.

VI. When a man is born under christian Parents, and trained up in the profession of that religion from a child, he generally guides himself by the rules of *Christian Faith* in believing what is delivered by the Evangelists; but the learned *Pagans* of antiquity, before they became Christians, were only guided by the common rules of *Historical Faith:* That is, they examined the nature of the evidence which was to be met with in common fame, tradition, and the writings of those persons who related them, together with the number, concurrence, veracity, and private characters of those persons; and being convinced upon all accounts that they had the same reason to believe the history of our Saviour, as that of any other person to which they themselves were not actually eye-witnesses, they were bound by all the rules of historical faith, and of right reason, to give credit to this his-

tory. This they did accordingly, and in consequence of it published the same truths themselves, suffered many afflictions, and very often death itself, in the assertion of them. When I say, that an historical belief of the acts of our Saviour induced these learned *Pagans* to embrace his doctrine, I do not deny that there were many other motives, which conduced to it, as the excellency of his precepts, the fulfilling of prophecies, the miracles of his Disciples, the irreproachable lives and magnanimous sufferings of their followers, with other considerations of the same nature: but whatever other collateral arguments wrought more or less with Philosophers of that age, it is certain that a belief in the history of our Saviour was one motive with every new convert, and that upon which all others turned, as being the very basis and foundation of Christianity.

VII. To this I must further add, that as we have already seen many particular facts which are recorded in holy writ, attested by particular *Pagan* Authors, the testimony of those I am now going to produce, extends to the whole history of our Saviour, and to that continued series of actions, which are related of him and his disciples in the books of the *New-Testament.*

VIII. This evidently appears from their quotations out of the Evangelists, for the confirmation of any doctrine or account of our blessed Saviour. Nay a learned man of our nation, who examined the writings of the most ancient Fathers in another view, refers to several passages in *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, *Origen*, and *Cyprian*, by which he plainly shows that each of these early writers ascribe to the

the four Evangeliſts by name their reſpective hiſtories; ſo that there is not the leaſt room for doubting of their belief in the hiſtory of our Saviour, as recorded in the Goſpels. I ſhall add, that three of the five fathers here mentioned, and probably four, were *Pagans* converted to Chriſtianity, as they were all of them very inquiſitive and deep in the knowledge of heathen learning and philoſophy.

SECTION IV.

I. *Character of the times in which the Christian religion was propagated:*
II. *And of many who embraced it.*
III. *Three eminent and early instances.*
IV. *Multitudes of learned men who came over to it.*
V. *Belief in our Saviour's history, the first motive to their conversion.*
VI. *The names of several* Pagan *Philosophers, who were Christian converts.*

I. IT happened very providentially to the honour of the Christian religion, that it did not take its rise in the dark illiterate ages of the world, but at a time when arts and sciences were at their height, and when there were men who made it the business of their lives to search after truth, and sift the several opinions of Philosophers, and wise men, concerning the duty, the end, and chief happiness of reasonable creatures.

II. Several of these therefore, when they had informed themselves of our Saviour's history, and examined with unprejudiced minds the doctrines and manners of his disciples and followers, were so struck and convinced, that they professed themselves of that sect; notwithstanding, by this profession in that juncture of time, they bid farewel to all the pleasures of this life, renounced all the views of ambition, engaged in

in an uninterrupted course of severities, and exposed themselves to public hatred and contempt, to sufferings of all kinds, and to death itself.

III. Of this sort we may reckon those three early converts to Christianity, who each of them was a member of a Senate famous for its wisdom and learning. *Joseph* the *Arimathean* was of the *Jewish Sanhedrim*, *Dionysius* of the *Athenian Areopagus*, and *Flavius Clemens* of the *Roman* Senate; nay at the time of his death Consul of *Rome*. These three were so thoroughly satisfied of the truth of the Christian religion, that the first of them, according to all the reports of antiquity, died a martyr for it; as did the second, unless we disbelieve *Aristides*, his fellow-citizen and contemporary; and the third, as we are informed both by *Roman* and Christian Authors.

IV. Among those innumerable multitudes, who in most of the knowing nations of the world came over to Christianity at its first appearance, we may be sure there were great numbers of wise and learned men, beside those whose names are in the Christian records, who without doubt took care to examine the truth of our Saviour's history, before they would leave the religion of their country and of their forefathers, for the sake of one that would not only cut them off from the allurements of this world, but subject them to every thing terrible or disagreeable in it. *Tertullian* tells the *Roman* Governors, that their corporations, councils, armies, tribes, companies, the palace, senate, and courts of judicature were filled with Christians; as *Arnobius* asserts that men of the finest parts

and learning, Orators, Grammarians, Rhetoricians, Lawyers, Physicians, Philosophers, despising the sentiments they had been once fond of, took up their rest in the Christian religion.

V. Who can imagine that men of this character, did not thoroughly inform themselves of the history of that person, whose doctrines they embraced? for however consonant to reason his precepts appeared, how good soever were the effects which they produced in the world, nothing could have tempted men to acknowledge him as their God and Saviour, but their being firmly persuaded of the miracles he wrought, and the many attestations of his divine mission, which were to be met with in the history of his life. This was the ground-work of the Christian religion, and, if this failed, the whole superstructure sunk with it. This point therefore, of the truth of our Saviour's history, as recorded by the Evangelists, is every where taken for granted in the writings of those, who from *Pagan* Philosophers became Christian Authors, and who, by reason of their conversion, are to be looked upon as of the strongest collateral testimony for the truth of what is delivered concerning our Saviour.

VI. Besides innumerable Authors that are lost, we have the undoubted names, works, or fragments of several *Pagan* Philosophers, which shew them to have been as learned as any unconverted heathen Authors of the age in which they lived. If we look into the greatest nurseries of learning in those ages of the world, we find in *Athens*, *Dionysius*, *Quadratus*, *Aristides*, *Athenagoras*; and in *Alexandria*, *Dionysius*, *Clemens*,

mens, *Ammonius*, *Arnobius*, and *Anatolius*, to whom we may add *Origen*; for though his father was a Chriſtian martyr, he became, without all controverſy, the moſt learned and able Philoſopher of his age, by his education at *Alexandria*, in that famous ſeminary of arts and ſciences.

SECTION V.

I. *The learned* Pagans *had means and opportunities of informing themselves of the truth of our Saviour's history*;
II. *From the proceedings,*
III. *The characters, sufferings,*
IV. *And miracles of the persons who published it.*
V. *How these first Apostles perpetuated their tradition, by ordaining persons to succeed them.*
VI. *How their successors in the three first centuries preserved their tradition.*
VII. *That five generations might derive this tradition from* Christ, *to the end of the third century.*
VIII. *Four eminent Christians that delivered it down successively to the year of our Lord* 254.
IX. *The faith of the four above-mentioned persons, the same with that of the Churches of the East, of the West, and of* Egypt.
X. *Another person added to them, who brings us to the year* 343, *and that many other lists might be added in as direct and short a succession.*
XI. *Why the tradition of the three first centuries, more authentic than that of any other age, proved from the conversation of the primitive Christians.*
XII. *From the manner of initiating men into their religion.*
XIII. *From the correspondence between the churches.*
XIV. *From the long lives of several of* Christ's *Disciples, of which two instances,*

I. IT

I. IT now therefore only remains to conſider, whether theſe learned men had means and opportunities of informing themſelves of the truth of our Saviour's hiſtory; for unleſs this point can be made out, their teſtimonies will appear invalid, and their enquiries ineffectual.

II. As to this point, we muſt conſider, that many thouſands had ſeen the tranſactions of our Saviour in *Judæa*, and that many hundred thouſands had received an account of them from the mouths of thoſe who were actually eye-witneſſes. I ſhall only mention among theſe eye-witneſſes the twelve Apoſtles, to whom we muſt add St. *Paul*, who had a particular call to this high office, though many other diſciples and followers of *Chriſt* had alſo their ſhare in the publiſhing this wonderful hiſtory. We learn from the ancient records of chriſtianity, that many of the Apoſtles and Diſciples made it the expreſs buſineſs of their lives, travelled into the remoteſt parts of the world, and in all places gathered multitudes about them, to acquaint them with the hiſtory and doctrines of their crucified Maſter. And indeed, were all Chriſtian records of theſe proceedings intirely loſt, as many have been, the effect plainly evinces the truth of them; for how elſe during the Apoſtles lives could Chriſtianity have ſpread itſelf with ſuch an amazing progreſs through the ſeveral nations of the *Roman* empire? how could it fly like lightning, and carry conviction with it, from one end of the earth to the other.

III. Heathens therefore of every age, ſex, and quality, born in the moſt different climates, and

and bred up under the most different institutions, when they saw men of plain sense, without the help of learning, armed with patience and courage, instead of wealth, pomp, or power, expressing in their lives those excellent doctrines of Morality, which they taught as delivered to them from our Saviour, averring that they had seen his miracles during his life, and conversed with him after his death; when, I say, they saw no suspicion of falshood, treachery, or worldly interest, in their behaviour and conversation, and that they submitted to the most ignominious and cruel deaths, rather than retract their testimony, or even be silent in matters which they were to publish by their Saviour's especial command, there was no reason to doubt of the veracity of those facts which they related, or of the Divine Mission in which they were employed.

IV. But even these motives to Faith in our Saviour would not have been sufficient to have brought about in so few years such an incredible number of conversions, had not the Apostles been able to exhibit still greater proofs of the truths which they taught. A few persons of an odious and despised country could not have filled the world with believers, had they not shown undoubted credentials from the divine person who sent them on such a message. Accordingly we are assured, that they were invested with the power of working miracles, which was the most short and the most convincing argument that could be produced, and the only one that was adapted to the reason of all mankind, to the capacities of the wise and ignorant, and could overcome every cavil and every prejudice. Who would not believe that our Saviour healed the sick,

ſick, and raiſed the dead, when it was publiſhed by thoſe who themſelves often did the ſame miracles, in their preſence, and in his name! Could any reaſonable perſon imagine, that God Almighty would arm men with ſuch powers to authorize a lye, and eſtabliſh a religion in the world which was diſpleaſing to him, or that evil ſpirits would lend them ſuch an effectual aſſiſtance to beat down vice and idolatry?

V. When the Apoſtles had formed many aſſemblies in ſeveral parts of the *Pagan* world, who gave credit to the glad tidings of the Goſpel, that, upon their departure, the memory of what they had related might not periſh, they appointed one of theſe new converts, men of the beſt ſenſe, and of the moſt unblemiſhed lives, to preſide over theſe ſeveral Aſſemblies, and to inculcate without ceaſing what they had heard from the mouths of theſe eye-witneſſes.

VI. Upon the death of any of thoſe ſubſtitutes to the Apoſtles and Diſciples of *Chriſt*, his place was filled up with ſome other perſon of eminence for his piety and learning, and generally a member of the ſame Church, who after his deceaſe was followed by another in the ſame manner, by which means the ſucceſſion was continued in an uninterrupted line. *Irenæus* informs us, that every church preſerved a catalogue of its Biſhops in the order that they ſucceeded one another, and (for an example) produces a catalogue of thoſe who governed the Church of *Rome* in that character, which contains eight or nine perſons, though but at a very ſmall remove from the times of the Apoſtles.

Indeed the liſt of Biſhops, which are come down to us in other churches, are generally filled

filled with greater numbers than one would expect. But the succession was quick in the three first centuries, because the Bishop very often ended in the Martyr: for when a persecution arose in any place, the first fury of it fell upon this order of holy men, who abundantly testified by their Deaths and Sufferings that they did not undertake these offices out of any temporal views, that they were sincere and satisfied in the belief of what they taught, and that they firmly adhered to what they had received from the Apostles, as laying down their lives in the same hope, and upon the same principles. None can be supposed so utterly regardless of their own happiness as to expire in torment, and hazard their Eternity, to support any fables and inventions of their own, or any forgeries of their predecessors who had presided in the same church, and which might have been easily detected by the tradition of that particular church, as well as by the concurring testimony of others. To this purpose, I think it is very remarkable, that there was not a single Martyr among those many Heretics, who disagreed with the Apostolical church, and introduced several wild and absurd notions into the doctrines of Christianity. They durst not stake their present and future happiness on their own chimerical imaginations, and did not only shun persecution, but affirmed that it was unnecessary for their followers to bear their religion through such fiery trials.

VII. We may fairly reckon, that this first age of Apostles and Disciples, with that second generation of many who were their immediate converts, extended itself to the middle of the second Century, and that several of the third gene-

generation from these last mentioned, which was but the fifth from *Christ*, continued to the end of the third Century. Did we know the ages and numbers of the members in every particular church, which was planted by the Apostles, I doubt not but in most of them there might be found five persons who in a continued series would reach through these three Centuries of years, that is till the 265th from the death of our Saviour.

VIII. Among the accounts of those very few out of innumerable multitudes, who had embraced Christianity, I shall single out four persons, eminent for their lives, their writings, and their sufferings, that were successively contemporaries, and bring us down as far as to the year of our Lord 254. St. *John*, who was the beloved Disciple, and conversed the most intimately with our Saviour, lived till *Anno Dom.* 100. *Polycarp*, who was the Disciple of St. *John*, and had conversed with others of the Apostles and Disciples of our Lord, lived till *Anno Dom.* 167, though his life was shortned by martyrdom. *Irenæus*, who was the Disciple of *Polycarp*, and had conversed with many of the immediate Disciples of the Apostles, lived, at the lowest computation of his age, till the year 202, when he was likewise cut off by martyrdom; in which year the great *Origen* was appointed Regent of the Catechetic school in *Alexandria*, and as he was the miracle of that age, for industry, Learning and Philosophy, he was looked upon as the champion of Christianity, till the year 254, when, if he did not suffer martyrdom, as some think he did, he was certainly

tainly actuated by the spirit of it, as appears in the whole course of his life and writings; nay, he had often been put to the torture, and had undergone trials worse than death. As he conversed with the most eminent Christians of his time in *Egypt*, and in the East, brought over multitudes both from heresy and heathenism, and left behind him several disciples of great fame and learning, there is no question but there were considerable numbers of those who knew him, and had been his hearers, scholars, or proselytes, that lived till the end of the third Century, and to the reign of *Constantine* the Great.

IX. It is evident to those, who read the lives and writings of *Polycarp*, *Irenæus*, and *Origen*, that these three Fathers believed the accounts which are given of our Saviour in the four Evangelists, and had undoubted arguments that not only St. *John*, but many others of our Saviour's disciples, published the same accounts of him. To which we must subjoin this further remark, that what was believed by these Fathers on this subject, was likewise the belief of the main body of Christians in those successive ages when they flourished; since *Polycarp* cannot but be looked upon, if we consider the respect that was paid him, as the representative of the Eastern Churches in this particular, *Irenæus* of the Western upon the same account, and *Origen* of those established in *Egypt*.

X. To these I might add *Paul* the famous hermit, who retired from the *Decian* persecution five or six years before *Origen*'s death, and lived till the year 343. I have only discovered one

of

of those channels by which the history of our Saviour might be conveyed pure and unadulterated, through those several ages that produced those *Pagan* Philosophers, whose testimonies I make use of for the truth of our Saviour's history. Some or other of these Philosophers came into the Christian faith during its infancy, in the several periods of these three first centuries, when they had such means of informing themselves in all the particulars of our Saviour's history. I must farther add, that though I have here only chosen this single link of martyrs, I might find out others among those names which are still extant, that delivered down this account of our Saviour in a successive tradition, till the whole *Roman* empire became Christian; as there is no question but numberless series of witnesses might follow one another in the same order, and in as short a chain, and that perhaps in every single church, had the names and ages of the most eminent primitive Christians been transmitted to us with the like certainty.

XI. But to give this consideration more force, we must take notice, that the tradition of the first ages of Christianity had several circumstances peculiar to it, which made it more authentic than any other tradition in any other age of the world. The Christians, who carried their religion through so many general and particular persecutions, were incessantly comforting and supporting one another, with the example and history of our Saviour and his Apostles. It was the subject not only of their solemn assemblies, but of their private visits and conversations. *Our virgins*, says *Tatian*, who lived in

the second century, *discourse over their distaffs on divine subjects.* Indeed, when religion was woven into the civil government, and flourished under the protection of the Emperors, mens thoughts and discourses were, as they are now, full of secular affairs; but in the three first centuries of Christianity, men, who embraced this religion, had given up all their interests in this world, and lived in a perpetual preparation for the next, as not knowing how soon they might be called to it: so that they had little else to talk of but the life and doctrines of that divine person, which was their hope, their encouragement, and their glory. We cannot therefore imagine, that there was a single person arrived at any degree of age or consideration, who had not heard and repeated above a thousand times in his life, all the particulars of our Saviour's birth, life, death, resurrection, and ascension.

XII. Especially if we consider, that they could not then be received as Christians, till they had undergone several examinations. Persons of riper years, who flocked daily into the Church during the three first centuries, were obliged to pass through many repeated instructions, and give a strict account of their proficiency, before they were admitted to Baptism. And as for those who were born of Christian parents, and had been baptized in their infancy, they were with the like care prepared and disciplined for confirmation, which they could not arrive at, till they were found upon examination to have made a sufficient progress in the knowledge of Christianity.

XIII. We

XIII. We must further observe, that there was not only in those times this religious conversation among private Christians, but a constant correspondence between the Churches that were established by the Apostles or their successors, in the several parts of the world. If any new doctrine was started, or any fact reported of our Saviour, a strict enquiry was made among the Churches, especially those planted by the Apostles themselves, whether they had received any such doctrine or account of our Saviour, from the mouths of the Apostles, or the tradition of those Christians, who had preceded the present members of the Churches which were thus consulted. By this means, when any novelty was published, it was immediately detected and censured.

XIV. St. *John*, who lived so many years after our Saviour, was appealed to in these emergencies as the living Oracle of the Church, and as his oral testimony lasted the first century, many have observed that, by a particular providence of God, several of our Saviour's Disciples, and of the early converts of his religion, lived to a very great age, that they might personally convey the truth of the Gospel to those times, which were very remote from the first publication of it. Of these besides St. *John*, we have a remarkable instance in *Simeon*, who was one of the seventy sent forth by our Saviour, to publish the Gospel before his crucifixion, and a near kinsman of the Lord. This venerable person, who had probably heard with his own ears our Saviour's prophecy of the destruction of *Jerusalem*, presided over the Church established in that city, during the time of its memorable

morable ſiege, and drew his congregation out of thoſe dreadful and unparallel'd calamities which befel his countrymen, by following the advice our Saviour had given, when they ſhould ſee *Jeruſalem* incompaſſed with armies, and the *Roman* ſtandards, or abomination of deſolation, ſet up. He lived till the year of our Lord 107, when he was martyr'd under the Emperor *Trajan*.

SECTION

SECTION VI.

I. *The tradition of the Apostles secured by other excellent institutions*;
II. *But chiefly by the writings of the Evangelists.*
III. *The diligence of the Disciples and first Christian converts, to send abroad these writings.*
IV. *That the written account of our Saviour was the same with that delivered by tradition:*
V. *Proved from the reception of the Gospel by those Churches which were established before it was written.*
VI. *From the uniformity of what was believed in the several Churches.*
VII. *From a remarkable passage in* Irenæus.
VIII. *Records which are now lost, of use to the three first centuries, for confirming the history of our Saviour.*
IX. *Instances of such records.*

I. THUS far we see how the learned *Pagans* might apprise themselves from oral information of the particulars of our Saviour's history. They could hear, in every Church planted in every distant part of the earth, the account which was there received and preserved among them, of the history of our Saviour. They could learn the names and characters of those first missionaries that brought to them these accounts,

accounts, and the miracles by which God Almighty attested their reports. But the Apostles and Disciples of *Christ*, to preserve the history of his life, and to secure their accounts of him from error and oblivion, did not only set aside certain persons for that purpose, as has been already shewn, but appropriated certain days to the commemoration of those facts which they had related concerning him. The first day of the week was in all its returns a perpetual memorial of his resurrection, as the devotional exercises adapted to *Friday* and *Saturday*, were to denote to all ages that he was crucified on the one of those days, and that he rested in the grave on the other. You may apply the same remark to several of the annual festivals instituted by the Apostles themselves, or at furthest by their immediate Successors, in memory of the most important particulars in our Saviour's history; to which we must add the Sacraments instituted by our Lord himself, and many of those rites and ceremonies which obtained in the most early times of the Church. These are to be regarded as standing marks of such facts as were delivered by those, who were eye-witnesses to them, and which were contrived with great wisdom to last till time should be no more. These, without any other means, might have, in some measure, conveyed to posterity, the memory of several transactions in the history of our Saviour, as they were related by his Disciples. At least, the reason of these institutions, though they might be forgotten, and obscured by a long course of years, could not but be very well known by those who lived in the three first Centuries, and a means of informing the inquisitive *Pagans* in the truth of our Saviour's history, that

that being the view in which I am to consider them.

II. But lest such a tradition, though guarded by so many expedients, should wear out by the length of time, the four Evangelists within about fifty, or, as *Theodoret* affirms, thirty years, after our Saviour's death, while the memory of his actions was fresh among them, consigned to writing that history, which for some years had been published only by the mouth of the Apostles and Disciples. The further consideration of these holy penmen will fall under another part of this discourse.

III. It will be sufficient to observe here, that in the age which succeeded the Apostles, many of their immediate Disciples sent or carried in person the books of the four Evangelists, which had been written by Apostles, or at least approved by them, to most of the Churches which they had planted in the different parts of the world. This was done with so much diligence, that when *Pantænus*, a man of great learning and piety, had travelled into *India* for the propagation of Christianity, about the year of our Lord 200, he found among that remote people the Gospel of St. *Matthew*, which upon his return from that country he brought with him to *Alexandria*. This Gospel is generally supposed to have been left in those parts by St. *Bartholomew* the Apostle of the *Indies*, who probably carried it with him before the writings of the three other Evangelists were publish'd.

IV. That the history of our Saviour, as recorded by the Evangelists, was the same with that which had been before delivered by the Apostles and Disciples, will further appear in the prosecution

tion of this discourse, and may be gathered from the following considerations.

V. Had these writings differed from the sermons of the first planters of Christianity, either in history or doctrine, there is no question but they would have been rejected by those Churches which they had already formed. But so consistent and uniform was the relation of the Apostles, that these histories appeared to be nothing else but their tradition and oral attestations made fixt and permanent. Thus was the fame of our Saviour, which in so few years had gone through the whole earth, confirmed and perpetuated by such records, as would preserve the traditionary account of him to after-ages; and rectify it, if at any time, by passing through several generations, it might drop any part that was material, or contract any thing that was false or fictitious.

VI. Accordingly we find the same *Jesus Christ* who was born of a Virgin, who had wrought many miracles in *Palestine*, who was crucified, rose again, and ascended into Heaven; I say, the same *Jesus Christ* had been preached, and was worshipped, in *Germany*, *France*, *Spain*, and *Great-Britain*, in *Parthia*, *Media*, *Mesopotamia*, *Armenia*, *Phrygia*, *Asia*, and *Pamphilia*, in *Italy*, *Egypt*, *Africk*, and beyond *Cyrene*, *India*, and *Persia*, and, in short, in all the islands and provinces that are visited by the rising or setting sun. The same account of our Saviour's life and doctrine was delivered by thousands of Preachers, and believed in thousands of places, who all, as fast as it could be conveyed to them, received the same account in writing from the four Evangelists.

VII. *Irenæus*

VII. *Irenæus* to this purpose very aptly remarks, that those barbarous nations, who in his time were not possest of the written gospels, and had only learned the history of our Saviour from those who had converted them to Christianity before the Gospels were written, had among them the same accounts of our Saviour, which are to be met with in the four Evangelists. An uncontestible proof of the harmony and concurrence between the holy Scripture and the tradition of the Churches in those early times of Christianity.

VIII. Thus we see what opportunities the learned and inquisitive heathens had of informing themselves of the truth of our Saviour's history, during the three first Centuries, especially as they lay nearer one than another to the fountain-head: beside which, there were many uncontroverted traditions, records of Christianity, and particular histories, that then threw light into these matters, but are now entirely lost, by which, at that time, any appearance of contradiction, or seeming difficulties, in the history of the Evangelists, were fully cleared up and explained: though we meet with fewer appearances of this nature in the history of our Saviour, as related by the four Evangelists, than in the accounts of any other person, published by such a number of different historians who lived at so great a distance from the present age.

IX. Among those records which are lost, and were of great use to the primitive Christians, is the letter to *Tiberius*, which I have already mentioned; that of *Marcus Aurelius*, which I shall take notice of hereafter; the writings of *Hegisippus*, who had drawn down the history of Christi-

anity to his own time; which was not beyond the middle of the ſecond Century; the genuine *Sibylline* oracles, which in the firſt ages of the Church were eaſily diſtinguiſhed from the ſpurious; the records preſerved in particular Churches, with many other of the ſame nature.

SECTION

SECTION VII.

I. *The sight of miracles in those ages a further confirmation of* Pagan *Philosophers in the Christian faith.*
II. *The credibility of such miracles.*
III. *A particular instance.*
IV. *Martyrdom, why considered as a standing miracle.*
V. *Primitive Christians thought many of the Martyrs were supported by a miraculous power:*
VI. *Proved from the nature of their sufferings.*
VII. *How Martyrs further induced the* Pagans *to embrace Christianity.*

I. THERE were other means, which I find had a great influence on the learned of the three first Centuries, to create and confirm in them the belief of our blessed Saviour's history, which ought not to be passed over in silence. The first was, the opportunity they enjoyed of examining those miracles, which were on several occasions performed by Christians, and appeared in the Church, more or less, during these first ages of Christianity. These had great weight with the men I am now speaking of, who, from learned *Pagans*, became fathers of the Church; for they frequently boast of them in their writings, as

attestations given by God himself to the truth of their religion.

II. At the same time, that these learned men declare how disingenuous, base and wicked it would be, how much beneath the dignity of Philosophy, and contrary to the precepts of Christianity, to utter falshood or forgeries in the support of a cause, though never so just in itself, they confidently assert this miraculous power, which then subsisted in the Church, nay, tell us that they themselves had been eye-witnesses of it at several times, and in several instances; nay, appeal to the heathens themselves for the truth of several facts they relate, nay challenge them to be present at their assemblies, and satisfy themselves, if they doubt of it; nay we find that *Pagan* Authors have in some instances confessed this miraculous power.

III. The letter of *Marcus Aurelius*, whose army was preserved by a refreshing shower, at the same time that his enemies were discomfited by a storm of lightning, and which the heathen historians themselves allow to have been supernatural and the effect of magic: I say, this letter, which ascribed this unexpected assistance to the prayers of the Christians, who then served in the army, would have been thought an unquestionable testimony of the miraculous power I am speaking of, had it been still preserved. It is sufficient for me in this place to take notice, that this was one of those miracles which had its influence on the learned Converts, because it is related by *Tertullian*, and the very letter appealed to.

When

When theſe learned Men ſaw ſickneſs and frenzy cured, the dead raiſed, the oracles put to ſilence, the *Dæmons* and evil ſpirits forced to confeſs themſelves no Gods, by perſons who only made uſe of prayer and adjurations in the name of their crucified Saviour; how could they doubt of their Saviour's power on the like occaſions, as repreſented to them by the traditions of the Church, and the writings of the Evangeliſts?

IV. Under this head, I cannot omit that which appears to me a ſtanding miracle in the three firſt Centuries, I mean that amazing and ſupernatural courage or patience, which was ſhewn by innumerable multitudes of Martyrs, in thoſe ſlow and painful torments that were inflicted on them. I cannot conceive a man placed in the burning iron chair at *Lions*, amid the inſults and mockeries of a crouded Amphitheatre, and ſtill keeping his ſeat; or ſtretched upon a grate of iron, over coals of fire, and breathing out his ſoul among the exquiſite ſufferings of ſuch a tedious execution, rather than renounce his religion, or blaſpheme his Saviour. Such trials ſeem to me above the ſtrength of human nature, and able to over-bear duty, reaſon, faith, conviction, nay, and the moſt abſolute certainty of a future ſtate. Humanity, unaſſiſted in an extraordinary manner, muſt have ſhaken off the preſent preſſure, and have deliver'd itſelf out of ſuch a dreadful diſtreſs, by any means that could have been ſuggeſted to it. We can eaſily imagine, that many perſons, in ſo good a cauſe, might have laid down their lives at the gibbet, the ſtake, or the block:

but to expire leiſurely among the moſt exquiſite tortures, when they might come out of them, even by a mental reſervation, or an hypocriſy which was not without a poſſibility of being followed by repentance and forgiveneſs, has ſomething in it, ſo far beyond the force and natural ſtrength of mortals, that one cannot but think there was ſome miraculous power to ſupport the ſufferer.

V. We find the Church of *Smyrna*, in that admirable letter which gives an account of the death of *Polycarp* their beloved Biſhop, mentioning the cruel torments of other early Martyrs for Chriſtianity, are of opinion, that our Saviour ſtood by them in a viſion, and perſonally converſed with them, to give them ſtrength and comfort during the bitterneſs of their long-continued agonies; and we have the ſtory of a young man, who, having ſuffered many tortures, eſcaped with life, and told his fellow-chriſtians, that the pain of them had been rendered tolerable, by the preſence of an Angel who ſtood by him, and wiped off the tears and ſweat, which ran down his face whilſt he lay under his ſufferings. We are aſſured at leaſt that the firſt Martyr for Chriſtianity was encouraged in his laſt moments, by a viſion of that divine perſon, for whom he ſuffered, and into whoſe preſence he was then haſtening.

VI. Let any man calmly lay his hand upon his heart, and after reading theſe terrible conflicts in which the ancient Martyrs and Confeſſors were engaged, when they paſſed through ſuch new inventions and varieties of pain, as tired their tormentors; and aſk himſelf, how-

ever

ever zealous and sincere he is in his religion, whether under such acute and lingring tortures, he could still have held fast his integrity, and have professed his faith to the last, without a supernatural assistance of some kind or other. For my part, when I consider that it was not an unaccountable obstinacy in a single man, or in any particular set of men, in some extraordinary juncture; but that there were multitudes of each sex, of every age, of different countries and conditions, who for near 300 years together made this glorious confession of their faith, in the midst of tortures, and in the hour of death: I must conclude, that they were either of another make than men are at present, or that they had such miraculous supports as were peculiar to those times of Christianity, when without them perhaps the very name of it might have been extinguished.

VII. It is certain, that the deaths and sufferings of the primitive Christians had a great share in the conversion of those learned *Pagans*, who lived in the ages of Persecution, which with some intervals and abatements lasted near 300 years after our Saviour. *Justin Martyr*, *Tertullian*, *Lactantius*, *Arnobius*, and others, tell us, that this first of all alarmed their curiosity, roused their attention, and made them seriously inquisitive into the nature of that religion, which could endue the mind with so much strength, and overcome the fear of death, nay raise an earnest desire of it, though it appeared in all its terrors. This they found had not been effected by all the doctrines of those Philosophers, whom they had thoroughly studied, and who had been

labouring at this great point. The ſight of theſe dying and tormented Martyrs engaged them to ſearch into the hiſtory and doctrines of him for whom they ſuffered. The more they ſearched, the more they were convinced; till their conviction grew ſo ſtrong, that they themſelves embraced the ſame truths, and either actually laid down their lives, or were always in a readineſs to do it, rather than depart from them.

SECTION VIII.

I. *The completion of our Saviour's prophecies confirmed* Pagans *in their belief of the Goſpel.*
II. Origen's *obſervation on that of his Diſciples being brought before Kings and Governors.*
III. *On their being perſecuted for their religion;*
IV. *On their preaching the Goſpel to all nations;*
V. *On the deſtruction of* Jeruſalem, *and ruin of the* Jewiſh *oeconomy.*
VI. *Theſe arguments ſtrengthened by what has happened ſince* Origen's *time.*

I. THE ſecond of thoſe extraordinary means, of great uſe to the learned and inquiſitive *Pagans* of the three firſt Centuries, for evincing the truth of the hiſtory of our Saviour, was the completion of ſuch prophecies as are recorded of him in the Evangeliſts. They could not indeed form any arguments from what he foretold, and was fulfilled during his life, becauſe both the prophecy and the completion were over before they were publiſhed by the Evangeliſts; though, as *Origen* obſerves, what end could there be in forging ſome of theſe predictions, as that of St. *Peter*'s denying his maſter, and all his Diſci-

ples forſaking him in the greateſt extremity, which reflects ſo much ſhame on the great Apoſtle, and on all his companions? Nothing but a ſtrict adherence to truth, and to matters of fact, could have prompted the Evangeliſts to relate a circumſtance ſo diſadvantageous to their own reputation; as that Father has well obſerved.

II. But to purſue his reflections on this Subject. There are predictions of our Saviour recorded by the Evangeliſts, which were not completed till after their deaths, and had no likelihood of being ſo, when they were pronounced by our bleſſed Saviour. Such was that wonderful notice he gave them, that they ſhould be brought before Governors and Kings for his ſake, for a teſtimony againſt them, and the *Gentiles*, *Mat.* x 28. with the other like prophecies, by which he foretold that his Diſciples were to be perſecuted. Is there any other doctrine in the world, ſays this Father, whoſe followers are puniſhed? Can the enemies of *Chriſt* ſay, that he knew his opinions were falſe and impious, and that therefore he might well conjecture and foretel what would be the treatment of thoſe perſons who ſhould embrace them? Suppoſing his doctrines were really ſuch, why ſhould this be the conſequence? what likelihood that men ſhould be brought before Kings and Governors for opinions and tenets of any kind, when this never happened even to the *Epicureans*, who abſolutely denied a Providence; nor to the *Peripatetics* themſelves, who laughed at the prayers and ſacrifices which were made to the Divinity? Are there any but the Chriſtians,

tians, who, according to this prediction of our Saviour, being brought before Kings and Governors for his sake, are pressed to their latest gasp of breath, by their respective judges, to renounce Christianity, and to procure their liberty and rest, by offering the same sacrifices, and taking the same oaths that others did.

III. Consider the time when our Saviour pronounced those words, Matt. x. 32. *Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven: but whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven.* Had you heard him speak after this manner, when as yet his Disciples were under no such trials, you would certainly have said within yourself. If these speeches of *Jesus* are true, and if, according to his prediction, Governors and Kings undertake to ruin and destroy those who shall profess themselves his Disciples, we will believe (not only that he is a Prophet) but that he has received power from God sufficient to preserve and propagate his religion; and that he would never talk in such a peremptory and discouraging manner, were he not assured that he was able to subdue the most powerful opposition, that could be made against the faith and doctrine which he taught.

IV. Who is not struck with admiration, when he represents to himself our Saviour at that time foretelling, that his Gospel should be preached in all the world, for a witness unto all nations, or as *Origen* (who rather quotes the sense than the words) to serve for a conviction to Kings and people, when at the same time

time he finds that his Gospel has accordingly been preached to *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, to the learned and to the ignorant, and that there is no quality or condition of life able to exempt men from submitting to the doctrine of *Christ*. As for us, says this great Author, in another part of his book against *Celsus*? "When we see every day "those events exactly accomplished which our "Saviour foretold at so great a distance: That "his Gospel is preached in all the world, *Matthew* xxiv. 14. That his Disciples go and "teach all nations, *Matthew* xxviii. 19. And "that those, who have received his doctrine, "are brought for his sake before Governors, "and before Kings, *Matthew* x. 18. we are "filled with admiration, and our faith in him "is confirmed more and more. What clearer "and stronger proofs can *Celsus* ask for the "truth of what he spoke?

V. *Origen* insists likewise with great strength on that wonderful prediction of our Saviour, concerning the destruction of *Jerusalem*, pronounced at a time, as he observes, when there was no likelihood nor appearance of it. This has been taken notice of and inculcated by so many others, that I shall refer you to what this Father has said on the subject in the first book against *Celsus*. And as to the accomplishment of this remarkable prophecy, shall only observe, that whoever reads the account given us by *Josephus*, without knowing his character, and compares it with what our Saviour foretold, would think the historian had been a Christian, and that he had nothing else in view but to adjust the event to the prediction.

VI. I cannot quit this head without taking notice, that *Origen* would still have triumphed more in the foregoing arguments, had he lived an age longer, to have seen the *Roman* Emperors, and all their Governors and provinces, submitting themselves to the Christian religion, and glorying in its profession, as so many Kings and Sovereigns still place their relation to *Christ* at the head of their titles.

How much greater confirmation of his faith would he have received, had he seen our Saviour's prophecy stand good in the destruction of the temple, and the dissolution of the *Jewish* Oeconomy, when *Jews* and *Pagans* united all their endeavours under *Julian* the Apostate, to baffle and falsify the prediction? The great preparations that were made for rebuilding the temple, with the hurricane, earthquake, and eruptions of fire, that destroyed the work, and terrified those employed in the attempt from proceeding in it, are related by many historians of the same age, and the substance of the story testified both by *Pagan* and *Jewish* writers, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* and *Zamath-David.* The learned *Chrysostome*, in a sermon against the *Jews*, tells them this fact was then fresh in the memories even of their young men, that it happened but twenty years ago, and that it was attested by all the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, where they might still see the marks of it in the rubbish of that work, from which the *Jews* desisted in so great a fright, and which even *Julian* had not the courage to carry on. This fact, which is in itself so miraculous, and so indisputable, brought over many of the *Jews* to Christianity;

Chriſtianity; and ſhows us, that after our Saviour's prophecy againſt it, the temple could not be preſerved from the plough paſſing over it, by all the care of *Titus*, who would fain have prevented its deſtruction, and that inſtead of being re-edified by *Julian*, all his endeavours towards it did but ſtill more litterally accompliſh our Saviour's prediction, that not one ſtone ſhould be left upon another.

The ancient Chriſtians were ſo entirely perſuaded of the force of our Saviour's prophecies, and of the puniſhment which the *Jews* had drawn upon themſelves and upon their children, for the treatment which the *Meſſiah* had received at their hands, that they did not doubt but they would always remain an abandoned and diſperſed people, an hiſſing and an aſtoniſhment among the nations as they are to this day. In ſhort, that they had loſt their peculiarity of being God's people, which was now transferred to the body of Chriſtians, and which preſerved the Church of *Chriſt* among all the conflicts, difficulties and perſecutions, in which it was engaged, as it had preſerved the *Jewiſh* government and œconomy for ſo many ages, whilſt it had the ſame truth and vital principle in it, notwithſtanding it was ſo frequently in danger of being utterly aboliſhed and deſtroyed. *Origen*, in his fourth book againſt *Celſus*, mentioning their being caſt out of *Jeruſalem*, the place to which their worſhip was annexed, deprived of their temple and ſacrifice, their religious rites and ſolemnities, and ſcattered over the face of the earth, ventures to aſſure them with a face of confidence, that they would never be

be re-eſtabliſhed, ſince they had committed that horrid crime againſt the Saviour of the world. This was a bold aſſertion in the good man, who knew how this people had been ſo wonderfully re-eſtabliſhed in former times, when they were almoſt ſwallow'd up, in the moſt deſperate ſtate of deſolation, as in their deliverance out of the *Babyloniſh* captivity, and the oppreſſions of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. Nay, he knew that within leſs than a hundred years before his own time, the *Jews* had made ſuch a powerful effort for their re-eſtabliſhment under *Barchocab*, in the reign of *Adrian*, as ſhook the whole *Roman* empire. But he founded his opinion on a ſure word of prophecy, and on the puniſhment they had ſo juſtly incurred; and we find, by a long experience of 1500 years, that he was not miſtaken, nay that his opinion gathers ſtrength daily, ſince the *Jews* are now at a greater diſtance from any probability of ſuch a re-eſtabliſhment, than they were when *Origen* wrote.

SECTION

SECTION IX.

I. *The lives of primitive Christians, another means of bringing learned* Pagans *into their religion.*
II. *The change and reformation of their manners.*
III. *This looked upon as supernatural by the learned* Pagans.
IV. *And strengthened the accounts given of our Saviour's life and history.*
V. *The* Jewish *prophecies of our Saviour, an argument for the heathens belief.*
VI. *Pursued:*
VII. *Pursued.*

I. THERE was one other means enjoyed by the learned *Pagans* of the three first centuries, for satisfying them in the truth of our Saviour's history, which I might have flung under one of the foregoing heads; but as it is so shining a particular, and does so much honour to our religion, I shall make a distinct article of it, and only consider it with regard to the subject I am upon: I mean the lives and manners of those holy men, who believed in *Christ* during the first ages of Christianity, I should be thought to advance a paradox, should I affirm that there were more Christians in the world during those times of persecution, than there are at present in these which we call the

the flourishing times of Christianity. But this will be found an indisputable truth, if we form our calculation upon the opinions which prevailed in those days, that every one who lives in the habitual practice of any voluntary sin, actually cuts himself off from the benefits and profession of Christianity, and whatever he may call himself, is in reality no Christian, nor ought to be esteemed as such.

II. In the times we are now surveying, the Christian religion showed its full force and efficacy on the minds of men, and by many examples demonstrated what great and generous souls it was capable of producing. It exalted and refined its proselytes to a very high degree of perfection, and set them far above the pleasures, and even the pains, of this life. It strengthened the infirmity, and broke the fierceness of human nature. It lifted up the minds of the ignorant to the knowledge and worship of him that made them, and inspired the vicious with a rational devotion, a strict purity of heart, and an unbounded love to their fellow-creatures. In proportion as it spread through the world, it seemed to change mankind into another species of Beings. No sooner was a convert initiated into it, but by an easy figure he became a New man, and both acted and looked upon himself as one regenerated and born a second time into another state of existence.

III. It is not my business to be more particular in the accounts of primitive Christianity, which have been exhibited so well by others, but rather to observe, that the *Pagan* converts, of whom I am now speaking, mention this great reforma-

reformation of those who had been the greatest sinners, with that sudden and surprising change which it made in the lives of the most profligate, as having something in it supernatural, miraculous and more than human. *Origen* represents this power in the Christian religion as no less wonderful than that of curing the lame and blind, or cleansing the leper. Many others represent it in the same light, and looked upon it as an argument that there was a certain divinity in that religion, which showed itself in such strange and glorious effects.

IV. This therefore was a great means not only of recommending Christianity to honest and learned heathens, but of confirming them in the belief of our Saviour's history, when they saw multitudes of virtuous men daily forming themselves upon his example, animated by his precepts, and actuated by that Spirit which he had promised to send among his Disciples.

V. But I find no argument made a stronger impression on the minds of these eminent *Pagan* converts, for strengthening their faith in the history of our Saviour, than the predictions relating to him in those old prophetic writings, which were deposited among the hands of the greatest enemies to Christianity, and owned by them to have been extant many ages before his appearance. The learned heathen converts were astonished to see the whole history of their Saviour's life published before he was born, and to find that the Evangelists and Prophets, in their accounts of the *Messiah*, differed only in point of time, the one foretelling what should happen to him, and the other describing those very

very particulars as what had actually happened. This our Saviour himſelf was pleaſed to make uſe of as the ſtrongeſt argument of his being the promiſed *Meſſiah*, and without it would hardly have reconciled his Diſciples to the ignominy of his death, as in that remarkable paſſage which mentions his converſation with the two Diſciples, on the day of his reſurrection. St. *Luke*, chap. xxiv. verſe 13. to the end.

VI. The heathen converts, after having travelled through all human learning, and fortified their minds with the knowledge of arts and ſciences, were particularly qualified to examine theſe prophecies, with great care and impartiality, and without prejudice or prepoſſeſſion. If the *Jews* on the one ſide put an unnatural interpretation on theſe prophecies, to evade the force of them in their controverſies with the Chriſtians; or if the Chriſtians on the other ſide over-ſtrained ſeveral paſſages in their applications of them, as it often happens among men of the beſt underſtanding, when their minds are heated with any conſideration that bears a more than ordinary weight with it: the learned Heathens may be looked upon as neuters in the matter, when all theſe prophecies were new to them, and their education had left the interpretation of them free and indifferent. Beſides, theſe learned men among the primitive Chriſtians, knew how the *Jews*, who had preceded our Saviour, interpreted theſe predictions, and the ſeveral marks by which they acknowledged the *Meſſiah* would be diſcovered, and how thoſe of the *Jewiſh* Doctors who ſucceeded him, had deviated from the interpretations and

doctrines

doctrines of their forefathers, on purpoſe to ſtifle their own conviction.

VII. This ſet of arguments had therefore an invincible force with thoſe *Pagan* Philoſophers who became Chriſtians, as we find in moſt of their writings. They could not diſbelieve our Saviour's hiſtory, which ſo exactly agreed with every thing that had been written of him many ages before his birth, nor doubt of thoſe circumſtances being fulfilled in him, which could not be true of any perſon that lived in the world beſides himſelf. This wrought the greateſt confuſion in the unbelieving *Jews*, and the greateſt conviction in the *Gentiles*, who every where ſpeak with aſtoniſhment of theſe truths they met with in this new magazine of learning which was opened to them, and carry the point ſo far as to think whatever excellent doctrine they had met with among *Pagan* writers, had been ſtole from their converſation with the *Jews*, or from the peruſal of theſe writings which they had in their cuſtody.

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